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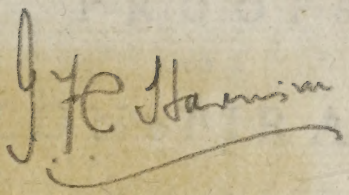

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PROOFS

OF A

CONSPIRACY

AGAINST ALL THE

RELIGIONS AND GOVERNMENTS

OF

EUROPE,

CARRIED ON

IN THE SECRET MEETINGS

OF

FREE MASONS, ILLUMINATI,

AND

READING SOCIETIES.

COLLECTED FROM GOOD AUTHORITIES,

By JOHN ROBISON, A.M.

PROFESSOR OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, AND SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

Nam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.

The SECOND EDITION, corrected;

To which is added a POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON:

Printed for T. CADELL jun. and W. DAVIES, Strand;

and W. CREECH, Edinburgh.

1797.

Entered in Stationers Hall.

UPB

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM WYNDHAM,

SECRETARY AT WAR, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

It was with great ſatisfaction that I learned from a Friend that you coincided with me in the opinion, that the information contained in this Performance would make a uſeful impreſſion on the minds of my Countrymen.

I have preſumed to inſcribe it with your Name, that I may publicly expreſs the pleaſure which I felt, when I found that neither a ſeparation for thirty years, nor the preſſure of the moſt important buſineſs, had effaced your kind remembrance of a College Acquaintance, or abated that obliging and polite attention with which you favoured me in thoſe early days of life.

The friendſhip of the accompliſhed and the worthy is the higheſt honour; and to him who is cut off, by want of health, from almoſt every other enjoyment, it is an ineſtimable bleſſing. Accept, therefore, I pray, of my grateful acknowledgments, and of my earneſt wiſhes for your Health, Proſperity, and increaſing Honour.

With ſentiments of the greateſt Eſteem and Reſpect,

I am, SIR,

Your moſt obedient,

and moſt humble Servant,

JOHN ROBISON.

EDINBURGH,
September 5, 1797.

QUOD si quis verâ vitam ratione gubernet,
Divitiæ grandes homini sunt, vivere parcè
Æquo animo: neque enim est unquam penuria parvi.
At claros se homines voluérunt atque potentes,
Ut fundamento stabili fortuna maneret,
Et placidam possent opulenti degere vitam:
Nequicquam,—quoniam ad summum succedere honorem
Certantes, iter infestum fecêre viaï,
Et tamen è summo quasi fulmen dejicit ictos
Invidia interdum contemptim in Tartara tetra.

Ergo, Regibus occisis, subversa jacebat
Pristina majestas soliorum, et sceptra superba;
Et capitis summi præclarum insigne, cruentum,
Sub pedibus volgi magnum lugebat honorem:
Nam cupidè conculcatur nimis ante metutum.
Res itaque ad summam fœcem, turbasque redibat,
Imperium sibi cum ac summatum quisque petebat.

LUCRETIUS, V. 1116.

INTRODUCTION.

BEING at a friend's houſe in the country during ſome part of the ſummer 1795, I there ſaw a volume of a German periodical work, called *Religions Begebenheiten*, *i. e.* Religious Occurrences; in which there was an account of the various ſchiſms in the Fraternity of Free Maſons, with frequent alluſions to the origin and hiſtory of that celebrated aſſociation. This account intereſted me a good deal, becauſe, in my early life, I had taken ſome part in the occupations (ſhall I call them) of Free Maſonry; and, having chiefly frequented the Lodges on the Continent, I had learned many doctrines, and ſeen many ceremonials which have no place in the ſimple ſyſtem of Free Maſonry which obtains in this country. I had alſo remarked, that the whole was much more the object of reflection and thought than I could remember it to have

been among my acquaintances at home. There, I had ſeen a Maſon Lodge conſidered merely as a pretext for paſſing an hour or two in a ſort of decent conviviality, not altogether void of ſome rational occupation. I had ſometimes heard of differences of doctrines or of ceremonies, but in terms which marked them as mere frivolities. But, on the Continent, I found them matters of ſerious concern and debate. Such too is the contagion of example, that I could not hinder myſelf from thinking one opinion better founded, or one Ritual more appoſite and ſignificant than another; and I even felt ſomething like an anxiety for its being adopted, and a zeal for making it a general practice. I had been initiated in a very ſplendid Lodge at Liege, of which the Prince Biſhop, his Trefonciers, and the chief Nobleſſe of the State were members. I viſited the French Lodges at Valenciennes, at Bruſſels, at Aix-la-Chapelle, at Berlin, and Koningſberg; and I picked up ſome printed diſcourſes delivered by the Brother-orators of the Lodges. At St. Peterſburgh I connected myſelf with the Engliſh Lodge, and occaſionally viſited the German and Ruſſian Lodges held there. I found myſelf received with particular reſpect as a Scotch Maſon, and as an Eleve of the *Loge de la Parfaite Intelligence* at Liege. I was importuned by perſons of the firſt rank to purſue my maſonic career through

through many degrees unknown in this country. But all the ſplendour and elegance that I ſaw could not conceal a frivolity in every part. It appeared a baſeleſs fabric, and I could not think of engaging in an occupation which would conſume much time, coſt me a good deal of money, and might perhaps excite in me ſome of that fanaticiſm, or, at leaſt, enthuſiaſm, that I ſaw in others, and perceived to be void of any rational ſupport. I therefore remained in the Engliſh Lodge, contented with the rank of Scotch Maſter, which was in a manner forced on me in a private Lodge of French Maſons, but is not given in the Engliſh Lodge. My maſonic rank admitted me to a very elegant entertainment in the female *Loge de la Fidelité*, where every ceremonial was compoſed in the higheſt degree of elegance, and every thing conducted with the moſt delicate reſpect for our fair ſiſters, and the old ſong of brotherly love was chanted in the moſt refined ſtrain of ſentiment. I do not ſuppoſe that the Pariſian Free Maſonry of forty-five degrees could give me more entertainment. I had profited ſo much by it, that I had the honour of being appointed the Brother-orator. In this office I gave ſuch ſatisfaction, that a worthy Brother ſent me at midnight a box, which he committed to my care, as a perſon far advanced in maſonic ſcience, zealouſly attached

to the order, and therefore a fit depoſitary of important writings. I learned next day that this gentleman had found it convenient to leave the empire in a hurry, but taking with him the funds of an eſtabliſhment of which her Imperial Majeſty had made him the manager. I was deſired to keep theſe writings till he ſhould ſee me again. I obeyed. About ten years afterward I ſaw the gentleman on the ſtreet in Edinburgh, converſing with a foreigner. As I paſſed by him, I ſaluted him ſoftly in the Ruſſian language; but without ſtopping, or looking him directly in the face. He coloured, but made no return. I endeavoured, in vain, to meet with him, wiſhing to make a proper return for much civility and kindneſs which I had received from him in his own country.

I now conſidered the box as acceſſible to myſelf, and opened it. I found it to contain all the degrees of the *Parfait Maçon Ecoſſois*, with the Rituals, Catechiſms, and Inſtructions, and alſo four other degrees of Free Maſonry, as cultivated in the Pariſian Lodges. I have kept them with all care, and mean to give them to ſome reſpectable Lodge. But as I am bound by no engagement of any kind, I hold myſelf as at liberty to make ſuch uſe of them as may be ſerviceable to the public, without enabling any uninitiated perſon to enter the Lodges of theſe degrees.

This

This acquiſition might have rouſed my former reliſh for Maſonry, had it been merely dormant; but, after ſo long ſeparation from the *Loge de la Fidelité*, the maſonic ſpirit had evaporated. Some curioſity however remained, and ſome wiſh to trace this plaſtic myſtery to the pit from which the clay had been dug, which has been moulded into ſo many different ſhapes, "ſome to ho-"nour, and ſome to diſhonour." But my opportunities were now gone. I had given away (when in Ruſſia) my volumes of diſcourſes, and ſome far-fetched and gratuitous hiſtories, and nothing remained but the pitiful work of Anderſon, and the *Maçonnerie Adonhiramique devoilée*, which are in every one's hands.

My curioſity was ſtrongly rouſed by the accounts given in the *Religions Begebenheiten*. There I ſaw quotations without number; ſyſtems and ſchiſms of which I had never heard; but what particularly ſtruck me was a zeal and a fanaticiſm about what I thought trifles, which aſtoniſhed me. Men of rank and fortune, and engaged in ſerious and honourable public employments, not only frequenting the Lodges of the cities where they reſided, but journeying from one end of Germany or France to the other, to viſit new Lodges, or to learn new ſecrets or new doctrines. I ſaw conventions held at Wiſimar, at Wiſbad, at Kohlo, at Brunſwick, and at Willemſbad, conſiſting of

ſome hundreds of perſons of reſpectable ſtations. I ſaw adventurers coming to a city, profeſſing ſome new ſecret, and in a few days forming new Lodges, and inſtructing in a troubleſome and expenſive manner hundreds of brethren.

German Maſonry appeared a very ſerious concern, and to be implicated with other ſubjects with which I had never ſuſpected it to have any connection. I ſaw it much connected with many occurrences and ſchiſms in the Chriſtian church; I ſaw that the Jeſuits had ſeveral times interfered in it; and that moſt of the exceptionable innovations and diſſentions had ariſen about the time that the order of *Loyola* was ſuppreſſed; ſo that it ſhould ſeem, that theſe intriguing brethren had attempted to maintain their influence by the help of Free Maſonry. I ſaw it much diſturbed by the myſtical whims of J. Behmen and Swedenborg—by the fanatical and knaviſh doctrines of the modern Roſycrucians—by Magicians—Magnetiſers—Exorciſts, &c. And I obſerved that theſe different ſects reprobated each other, as not only maintaining erroneous opinions, but even inculcating opinions which were contrary to the eſtabliſhed religions of Germany, and contrary to the principles of the civil eſtabliſhments. At the ſame time they charged each other with miſtakes and corruptions, both in doctrine and in practice; and particularly with falſification of the

firſt

firſt principles of Free Maſonry, and with ignorance of its origin and its hiſtory; and they ſupported theſe charges by authorities from many different books which were unknown to me.

My curioſity was now greatly excited. I got from a much-reſpected friend many of the preceding volumes of the *Religions Begebenheiten*, in hopes of much information from the patient induſtry of German erudition. This opened a new and very intereſting ſcene; I was frequently ſent back to England, from whence all agreed that Free Maſonry had been imported into Germany. I was frequently led into France and into Italy. There, and more remarkably in France, I found that the Lodges had become the haunts of many projectors and fanatics, both in ſcience, in religion, and in politics, who had availed themſelves of the ſecrecy and the freedom of ſpeech maintained in theſe meetings, to broach their particular whims or ſuſpicious doctrines, which, if publiſhed to the world in the uſual manner, would have expoſed the authors to ridicule or to cenſure. Theſe projectors had contrived to tag their peculiar noſtrums to the mummery of Maſonry, and were even allowed to twiſt the maſonic emblems and ceremonies to their purpoſe; ſo that in their hands Free Maſonry became a thing totally unlike, and almoſt in direct oppoſition to the ſyſtem (if it may get ſuch a name)

imported from England; and ſome Lodges had become ſchools of irreligion and licentiouſneſs.

No nation in modern times has ſo particularly turned its attention to the cultivation of every thing that is refined or ornamental as France, and it has long been the reſort of all who hunt after entertainment in its moſt refined form; the French have come to conſider themſelves as the inſtructors of the world in every thing that ornaments life, and feeling themſelves received as ſuch, they have formed their manners accordingly—full of the moſt condeſcending complaiſance to *all who acknowledge* their ſuperiority. Delighted, in a high degree, with this office, they have become zealous miſſionaries of refinement in every department of human purſuit, and have reduced their apoſtolic employment to a ſyſtem, which they proſecute with ardour and delight. This is not groundleſs declamation, but ſober hiſtorical truth. It was the profeſſed aim (and it was a magnificent and wiſe aim) of the great Colbert, to make the court of Louis XIV. the fountain of human refinement, and Paris the Athens of Europe. We need only look, in the preſent day, at the plunder of Italy by the French army, to be convinced that their low-born generals and ſtateſmen have in this reſpect the ſame notions with the Colberts and the Richlieus.

I know

I know no ſubject in which this aim at univerſal influence on the opinions of men, by holding themſelves forth as the models of excellence and elegance, is more clearly ſeen than in the care that they have been pleaſed to take of Free Maſonry. It ſeems indeed peculiarly ſuited to the talents and taſte of that vain and ardent people. Baſeleſs and frivolous, it admits of every form that Gallic refinement can invent, to recommend it to the young, the gay, the luxurious; that claſs of ſociety which alone deſerves their care, becauſe, in one way or another, it leads all other claſſes of ſociety.

It has accordingly happened, that the homely Free Maſonry imported from England has been totally changed in every country of Europe either by the impoſing aſcendancy of French brethren, who are to be found every where, ready to inſtruct the world; or by the importation of the doctrines, and ceremonies, and ornaments of the Pariſian Lodges. Even England, the birth-place of Maſonry, has experienced the French innovations; and all the repeated injunctions, admonitions, and reproofs of the old Lodges, cannot prevent thoſe in different parts of the kingdom from admitting the French novelties, full of tinſel and glitter, and high-ſounding titles.

Were this all, the harm would not be great. But long before good opportunities had occurred for ſpreading the refinements on the ſimple Free

Free Maſonry of England, the Lodges in France had become places of very ſerious diſcuſſion, where opinions in morals, in religion, and in politics, had been promulgated and maintained with a freedom and a keenneſs, of which we in this favoured land have no adequate notion, becauſe we are unacquainted with the reſtraints which, in other countries, are laid on ordinary converſation. In conſequence of this, the French innovations in Free Maſonry were quickly followed in all parts of Europe, by the admiſſion of ſimilar diſcuſſions, although in direct oppoſition to a ſtanding rule, and a declaration made to every newly received Brother, "that nothing "touching the religion or government ſhall ever "be ſpoken of in the Lodge." But the Lodges in other countries followed the example of France, and have frequently become the rendezvous of innovators in religion and politics, and other diſturbers of the public peace. In ſhort, I have found that the covert of a Maſon Lodge had been employed in every country for venting and propagating ſentiments in religion and politics, that could not have circulated in public without expoſing the author to great danger. I found, that this impunity had gradually encouraged men of licentious principles to become more bold, and to teach doctrines ſubverſive of all our notions of morality—of all our confidence in the

moral government of the univerſe—of all our hopes of improvement in a future ſtate of exiſtence—and of all ſatisfaction and contentment with our preſent life, ſo long as we live in a ſtate of civil ſubordination. I have been able to trace theſe attempts, made, through a courſe of fifty years, under the ſpecious pretext of enlightening the world by the torch of philoſophy, and of diſpelling the clouds of civil and religious ſuperſtition which keep the nations of Europe in darkneſs and ſlavery. I have obſerved theſe doctrines gradually diffuſing and mixing with all the different ſyſtems of Free Maſonry; till, at laſt, AN ASSOCIATION HAS BEEN FORMED for the expreſs purpoſe of ROOTING OUT ALL THE RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS, AND OVERTURNING ALL THE EXISTING GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE. I have ſeen this Aſſociation exerting itſelf zealouſly and ſyſtematically, till it has become almoſt irreſiſtible: And I have ſeen that the moſt active leaders in the French Revolution were members of this Aſſociation, and conducted their firſt movements according to its principles, and by means of its inſtructions and aſſiſtance, *formally requeſted and obtained:* And, laſtly, I have ſeen that this Aſſociation ſtill exiſts, ſtill works in ſecret, and that not only ſeveral appearances among ourſelves ſhow that its emiſſaries are endeavouring to propagate their deteſtable doctrines among

among us, but that the Aſſociation has Lodges in Britain correſponding with the mother Lodge at Munich ever ſince 1784.

If all this were a matter of mere curioſity, and ſuſceptible of no good uſe, it would have been better to have kept it to myſelf, than to diſturb my neighbours with the knowledge of a ſtate of things which they cannot amend. But if it ſhall appear that the minds of my countrymen are miſled in the very ſame manner as were thoſe of our continental neighbours—if I can ſhow that the reaſonings which make a very ſtrong impreſſion on ſome perſons in this country are the ſame which actually produced the dangerous aſſociation in Germany; and that they had this unhappy influence ſolely becauſe they were thought to be ſincere, and the expreſſions of the ſentiments of the ſpeakers—if I can ſhow that this was all a cheat, and that the Leaders of this Aſſociation diſbelieved *every word* that they uttered, and every doctrine that they taught; and that their real intention was to aboliſh *all* religion, overturn every government, and make the world a general plunder and a wreck—if I can ſhow, that the principles which the Founder and Leaders of this Aſſociation held forth as the perfection of human virtue, and the moſt powerful and efficacious for forming the minds of men, and making them good and happy, had no influence on the

Founder

Founder and Leaders themſelves, and that they were, almoſt without exception, the moſt inſignificant, worthleſs, and profligate of men; I cannot but think, that ſuch information will make my countrymen heſitate a little, and receive with caution, and even diſtruſt, addreſſes and inſtructions which flatter our ſelf-conceit, and which, by buoying us up with the gay proſpect of what ſeems attainable by a change, may make us diſcontented with our preſent condition, and forget that there never was a government on earth where the people of a great and luxurious nation enjoyed ſo much freedom and ſecurity in the poſſeſſion of every thing that is dear and valuable.

When we ſee that theſe boaſted principles had not that effect on the Leaders which they aſſert to be their native, certain, and inevitable conſequences, we ſhall diſtruſt the fine deſcriptions of the happineſs that ſhould reſult from ſuch a change. And when we ſee that the methods which were practiſed by this Aſſociation for the expreſs purpoſe of breaking all the bands of ſociety, were employed ſolely in order that the Leaders might rule the world with uncontroulable power, while all the reſt, even of the aſſociated, ſhould be degraded in their own eſtimation, corrupted in their principles, and employed as mere tools of the ambition of their *unknown ſuperiors*; ſurely

ſurely a free-born Briton will not heſitate to reject at once, and without any farther examination, a plan ſo big with miſchief, ſo diſgraceful to its underling adherents, and ſo uncertain in its iſſue.

Theſe hopes have induced me to lay before the public a ſhort abſtract of the information which I think I have received. It will be ſhort, but I hope ſufficient for eſtabliſhing the fact, that *this deteſtable Aſſociation exiſts, and its emiſſaries are buſy among ourſelves.*

I was not contented with the quotations which I found in the Religions Begebenheiten, but procured from abroad ſome of the chief writings from which they are taken. This both gave me confidence in the quotations from books which I could not procure, and furniſhed me with more materials. Much, however, remains untold, richly deſerving the attention of all thoſe who *feel* themſelves diſpoſed to liſten to the tales of a poſſible happineſs that may be enjoyed in a ſociety where all the magiſtrates are wiſe and juſt, and all the people are honeſt and kind.

I hope that I am honeſt and candid. I have been at all pains to give the true ſenſe of the authors. My knowledge of the German language is but ſcanty, but I have had the aſſiſtance of friends whenever I was in doubt. In compreſſing into one paragraph what I have collected from many, I have, as much as I was able, ſtuck to the

the words of the author, and have been anxious to give his preciſe meaning. I doubt not but that I have ſometimes failed, and will receive correction with deference. I entreat the reader not to expect a piece of good literary compoſition. I am very ſenſible that it is far from it—it is written during bad health, when I am not at eaſe—and I wiſh to conceal my name—but my motive is, without the ſmalleſt mixture of another, to do ſome good in the only way I am able, and I think that what I ſay will come with better grace, and be received with more confidence, than any anonymous publication. Of theſe I am now moſt heartily ſick. I throw myſelf on my country with a free heart, and I bow with deference to its deciſion.

The Aſſociation of which I have been ſpeaking is the Order of ILLUMINATI, founded, in 1775, by Dr. Adam Weiſhaupt, profeſſor of Canon law in the univerſity of Ingolſtadt, and aboliſhed in 1786 by the Elector of Bavaria, but revived immediately after, under another name, and in a different form, all over Germany. It was again detected, and ſeemingly broken up; but it had by this time taken ſo deep root that it ſtill ſubſiſts without being detected, and has ſpread into all the countries of Europe. It took its firſt riſe among the Free Maſons, but is totally different from Free Maſonry. It was not, however, the mere

mere protection gained by the ſecrecy of the Lodges that gave occaſion to it, but it aroſe naturally from the corruptions that had gradually crept into that fraternity, the violence of the party ſpirit which pervaded it, and from the total uncertainty and darkneſs that hangs over the whole of that myſterious Aſſociation. It is neceſſary, therefore, to give ſome account of the innovations that have been introduced into Free Maſonry from the time that it made its appearance on the continent of Europe as a myſtical ſociety, poſſeſſing ſecrets different from thoſe of the mechanical employment whoſe name it aſſumed, and thus affording entertainment and occupation to perſons of all ranks and profeſſions. It is by no means intended to give a hiſtory of Free Maſonry. This would lead to a very long diſcuſſion. The patient induſtry of German erudition has been very ſeriouſly employed on this ſubject, and many performances have been publiſhed, of which ſome account is given in the different volumes of the Religions Begebenheiten, particularly in thoſe for 1779, 1785, and 1786. It is evident, from the nature of the thing, that they cannot be very inſtructive to the public; becauſe the obligation of ſecrecy reſpecting the important matters which are the very ſubjects of debate, prevents the author from giving that full information that is required from an hiſtorian;

and

and the writers have not, in general, been perſons qualified for the taſk. Scanty erudition, credulity, and enthuſiaſm, appear in almoſt all their writings; and they have neither attempted to remove the heap of rubbiſh with which Anderſon has diſgraced his *Conſtitutions of Free Maſonry*, (the baſis of maſonic hiſtory,) nor to avail themſelves of informations which hiſtory really affords to a ſober enquirer. Their Royal art muſt never forſooth appear in a ſtate of infancy or childhood, like all other human acquirements; and therefore, when they cannot give proofs of its exiſtence in a ſtate of manhood, poſſeſſed of all its myſterious treaſures, they ſuppoſe what they do not ſee, and ſay that they are concealed by the oath of ſecrecy. Of ſuch inſtruction I can make no uſe, even if I were diſpoſed to write a hiſtory of the Fraternity. I ſhall content myſelf with an account of ſuch particulars as are admitted by all the maſonic parties, and which illuſtrate or confirm my general propoſition, making ſuch uſe of the accounts of the higher degrees in my poſſeſſion as I can without admitting the profane into their Lodges. Being under no tie of ſecrecy with regard to theſe, I am with-held by diſcretion alone from putting the public in poſſeſſion of all their myſteries.

PROOFS

OF

A CONSPIRACY, &c.

CHAP. I.

Schiſms in Free Maſonry.

THERE is undoubtedly a dignity in the art of building, or in architecture, which no other art poſſeſſes, and this, whether we conſider it in its rudeſt ſtate, occupied in raiſing a hut, or as practiſed in a cultivated nation, in the erection of a magnificent and ornamented temple. As the arts in general improve in any nation, this muſt always maintain its pre-eminence; for it employs them all, and no man can be eminent as an architect who does not poſſeſs a conſiderable knowledge of almoſt every ſcience and art

already cultivated in his nation. His great works are undertakings of the moſt ſerious concern, connect him with the public, or with the rulers of the ſtate, and attach to him the practitioners of other arts, who are occupied in executing his orders: His works are the objects of public attention, and are not the tranſient ſpectacles of the day, but hand down to poſterity his invention, his knowledge, and his taſte. No wonder then that he thinks highly of his profeſſion, and that the public ſhould acquieſce in his pretenſions, even when in ſome degree extravagant.

It is not at all ſurpriſing, therefore, that the incorporated architects in all cultivated nations ſhould arrogate to themſelves a pre-eminence over the ſimilar aſſociations of other tradeſmen. We find traces of this in the remoteſt antiquity. The Dionyſiacs of Aſia Minor were undoubtedly an aſſociation of architects and engineers, who had the excluſive privilege of building temples, ſtadia, and theatres, under the myſterious tutelage of Bacchus, and diſtinguiſhed from the uninitiated or profane inhabitants by the ſcience which they poſſeſſed, and by many private ſigns and tokens, by which they recogniſed each other. This aſſociation came into Ionia from Syria, into which country it had come from Perſia, along with that ſtyle of architecture

tecture that we call Grecian. We are alſo certain that there was a ſimilar trading aſſociation, during the dark ages, in Chriſtian Europe, which monopolized the building of great churches and caſtles, working under the patronage and protection of the Sovereigns and Princes of Europe, and poſſeſſing many privileges. Circumſtances, which it would be tedious to enumerate and diſcuſs, continued this aſſociation later in Britain than on the Continent.

But it is quite uncertain when and why perſons who were not builders by profeſſion firſt ſought admiſſion into this Fraternity. The firſt diſtinct and unequivocal inſtance that we have of this is the admiſſion of Mr. Aſhmole, the famous antiquary, in 1648, into a Lodge at Warrington, along with his father-in-law Colonel Mainwaring. It is not improbable that the covert of ſecrecy in thoſe aſſemblies had made them courted by the Royaliſts, as occaſions of meeting. Nay, the Ritual of the Maſter's degree ſeems to have been formed, or perhaps twiſted from its original inſtitution, ſo as to give an opportunity of ſounding the political principles of the candidate, and of the whole Brethren preſent. For it bears ſo eaſy an adaptation to the death of the King, to the overturning of the venerable conſtitution of the Engliſh government of three orders by a mean democracy, and its re-eſtabliſhment by the

efforts of the loyaliſts, that this would ſtart into every perſon's mind during the ceremonial, and could hardly fail to ſhow, by the countenances and behaviour of the Brethren, how they were affected. I recommend this hint to the conſideration of the Brethren. I have met with many particular facts, which convince me that this uſe had been made of the meetings of Maſons, and that at this time the Jeſuits interfered conſiderably, inſinuating themſelves into the Lodges, and contributing to encreaſe that religious myſticiſm that is to be obſerved in all the ceremonies of the order. This ſociety is well known to have put on every ſhape, and to have made uſe of every mean that could promote the power and influence of the order. And we know that at this time they were by no means without hopes of re-eſtabliſhing the dominion of the Church of Rome in England. Their ſervices were not ſcrupled at by the diſtreſſed royaliſts, even ſuch as were Proteſtants, while they were highly prized by the Sovereign. We alſo know that Charles II. was made a Maſon, and frequented the Lodges. It is not unlikely, that beſides the amuſement of a vacant hour, which was always agreeable to him, he had pleaſure in the meeting with his loyal friends, and in the occupations of the Lodge, which recalled to his mind their attachment and ſervices. His brother and ſucceſſor James II. was of a more ſerious

ſerious and manly caſt of mind, and had little pleaſure in the frivolous ceremonies of Maſonry. He did not frequent the Lodges. But, by this time, they were the reſort of many perſons who were not of the profeſſion, or members of the trading corporation. This circumſtance, in all probability, produced the denominations of FREE and ACCEPTED Maſons. A perſon who has the privilege of working at any incorporated trade, is ſaid to be a *freeman* of that trade. Others were *accepted* as Brethren, and admitted to a kind of honorary freedom, as is the caſe in many other trades and incorporations, without having (as far as we can learn for certain) a legal title to earn a livelihood by the exerciſe of it.

The Lodges being in this manner frequented by perſons of various profeſſions, and in various ranks of civil ſociety, it cannot be ſuppoſed that the employment in thoſe meetings related entirely to the oſtenſible profeſſion of Maſonry. We have no authentic information by which the public can form any opinion about it. It was not till ſome years after this period that the Lodges made open profeſſion of the cultivation of general benevolence, and that the grand aim of the Fraternity was to enforce the exerciſe of all the ſocial virtues. It is not unlikely that this was an afterthought. The political purpoſes of the aſſocia-

tion being once obtained, the converſation and occupations of the members muſt take ſome particular turn, in order to be generally acceptable. The eſtabliſhment of a fund for the relief of unfortunate Brethren did not take place till the very end of laſt century; and we may preſume that it was brought about by the warm recommendations of ſome benevolent members, who would naturally enforce it by addreſſes to their aſſembled Brethren. This is the probable origin of thoſe philanthropic diſcourſes which were delivered in the Lodges by one of the Brethren as an official taſk. Brotherly love was the general topic, and this, with great propriety, when we conſider the object aimed at in thoſe addreſſes. Nor was this object altogether a novelty. For while the manners of ſociety were yet but rude, Brother Maſons, who were frequently led by their employment far from home and from their friends, ſtood in need of ſuch helps, and might be greatly benefited by ſuch an inſtitution, which gave them introduction and citizenſhip wherever they went, and a right to ſhare in the charitable contributions of Brethren who were ſtrangers to them. Other incorporated trades had ſimilar proviſions for their poor. But their poor were townſmen and neighbours, well known to them. There was more perſuaſion neceſſary in this Fraternity, where the objects of

of our immediate beneficence were not of our acquaintance. But when the Lodges conſiſted of many who were not Maſons, and who had no particular claim to good offices from a ſtranger, and their number might be great, it is evident that ſtronger perſuaſions were now neceſſary, and that every topic of philanthropy muſt now be employed. When the funds became conſiderable, the effects naturally took the public eye, and recommended the Society to notice and reſpect. And now the Brethren were induced to dwell on the ſame topic, to join in the commendations beſtowed on the Society, and to ſay that univerſal beneficence was the great aim of the Order. And this is all that could be ſaid in public, without infringing the obligation to ſecrecy. The inquiſitive are always prying and teazing, and this is the only point on which a Brother is at liberty to ſpeak. He will therefore do it with affectionate zeal, till perhaps he has heated his own fancy a little, and overlooks the inconſiſtency of this univerſal beneficence and philanthropy with the excluſive and monopolizing ſpirit of an Aſſociation, which not only confines its benevolence to its own Members, (like any other charitable aſſociation,) but hoards up in its boſom ineſtimable ſecrets, whoſe natural tendency, they ſay, is to form the heart to this generous and kind conduct, and inſpire us with

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love to all mankind. The profane world cannot ſee the beneficence of concealing from public view a principle or a motive which ſo powerfully induces a Maſon to be good and kind. The Brother ſays that publicity would rob it of its force, and we muſt take him at his word; and our curioſity is ſo much the more excited to learn what are the ſecrets which have ſo ſingular a quality.

Thus did the Fraternity conduct themſelves, and thus were they conſidered by the public, when it was carried over from England to the continent; and here it is to be particularly remarked that all our Brethren abroad profeſs to have received the Myſtery of Free Maſonry from Britain. This is ſurely a puzzle in the hiſtory; and we muſt leave it to others to reconcile this with the repeated aſſertions in Anderſon's book of Conſtitutions, "That the Fraternity exiſted "all over the World," and the numberleſs examples which he adduces of its exertions in other countries; nay, with his repeated aſſertions, "that it frequently was near periſhing in Bri-"tain, and that our Princes were obliged to ſend "to France and other countries, for leading "men, to reſtore it to its former energy among "us." We ſhall find by and by that this is not a point of mere hiſtorical curioſity, but that much hinges on it.

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In the mean time, let us juſt remember, that the plain tale of Brotherly love had been poliſhed up to proteſtations of univerſal benevolence, and had taken place of loyalty and attachment to the unfortunate Family of Stuart, which was now totally forgotten in the Engliſh Lodges. The Revolution had taken place, and King James, with many of his moſt zealous adherents, had taken refuge in France.

But they took Free Maſonry with them to the continent, where it was immediately received by the French, and was cultivated with great zeal in a manner ſuited to the taſte and habits of that highly poliſhed people. The Lodges in France naturally became the rendezvous of the adherents to the exiled King, and the means of carrying on a correſpondence with their friends in England. At this time alſo the Jeſuits took a more active hand in Free Maſonry than ever. They inſinuated themſelves into the Engliſh Lodges, where they were careſſed by the Catholics, who panted after the re-eſtabliſhment of their faith, and tolerated by the Proteſtant royaliſts, who thought no conceſſion too great a compenſation for their ſervices. At this time changes were made in ſome of the Maſonic ſymbols, particularly in the tracing of the Lodge, which bear evident marks of Jeſuitical interference.

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It was in the Lodge held at St. Germain's that the degree of *Chevalier Maçon Ecoſſois* was added to the three SYMBOLICAL degrees of Engliſh Maſonry. The conſtitution, as imported, appeared too coarſe for the refined taſte of our neighbours, and they muſt make Maſonry more like the occupation of a gentleman. Therefore, the Engliſh degrees of Apprentice, Fellow-craft, and Maſter, were called *ſymbolical*, and the whole contrivance was conſidered either as typical of ſomething more elegant, or as a preparation for it. The degrees afterwards ſuperadded to this leave us in doubt which of theſe views the French entertained of our Maſonry. But at all events, this rank of Scotch Knight was called the *firſt* degree of the *Maçon Parfait*. There is a device belonging to this Lodge which deſerves notice. A lion, wounded by an arrow, and eſcaped from the ſtake to which he had been bound, with the broken rope ſtill about his neck, is repreſented lying at the mouth of a cave, and occupied with mathematical inſtruments which are lying near him. A broken crown lies at the foot of the ſtake. There can be little doubt but that this emblem alludes to the dethronement, the captivity, the eſcape, and the aſylum of James II. and his hopes of re-eſtabliſhment by the help of the loyal Brethren. This emblem is worn as the gorget of the Scotch Knight. It is not very certain,

certain, however, when this degree was added, whether immediately after king James's Abdication, or about the time of the attempt to ſet his ſon on the Britiſh Throne. But it is certain, that in 1716, this and ſtill higher degrees of Maſonry were much in vogue in the Court of France. The refining genius of the French, and their love of ſhow, made the humble denominations of the Engliſh Brethren diſguſting; and their paſſion for military rank, the only character that connected them with the court of an abſolute monarch, made them adapt Free Maſonry to the ſame ſcale of public eſtimation, and invent ranks of *Maçons Chevaliers*, ornamented with titles, and ribands, and ſtars. Theſe were highly reliſhed by that vain people; and the price of reception, which was very high, became a rich fund, that was generally applied to relieve the wants of the baniſhed Britiſh and Iriſh adherents of the unfortunate Family who had taken refuge among them. Three new degrees, of *Novice*, *Eleve*, and *Chevalier*, were ſoon added, and the *Parfait Maçon* had now ſeven receptions to go through, for each of which a handſome contribution was made. Afterwards, when the firſt beneficent purpoſe of this contribution ceaſed to exiſt, the finery that now glittered in all the Lodges made a ſtill more craving demand for reception-money, and ingenuity was ſet to work to invent

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new baits for the *Parfait Maçon*. More degrees of chivalry were added, interſperſed with degrees of *Philoſophe*, *Pellerin*, *Clairvoyant*, &c. &c. till ſome Pariſian Lodges had forty-five ranks of Maſonry, having fifteen orders of chivalry. For a Knighthood, with a Riband and a Star, was a *bonne bouche*, given at every third ſtep. For a long while theſe degrees of chivalry proceeded on ſome faint analogies with ſeveral orders of chivalry which had been erected in Europe. All of theſe had ſome reference to ſome myſtical doctrines of the Chriſtian church, and were, in fact, contrivances of the Church of Rome for ſecuring and extending her influence on the laymen of rank and fortune, whom ſhe retained in her ſervice by theſe play-things. The Knights Templars of Jeruſalem, and the Knights of the Deſert, whoſe office it was to protect pilgrims, and to defend the holy city, afforded very apt models for Maſonic mimicry, becauſe the Temple of Solomon, and the Holy Sepulchre, always ſhared the ſame fate. Many conteſted doctrines of the theologians had alſo their Chevaliers to defend them.

In all this progreſſive mummery we ſee much of the hand of the Jeſuits, and it would ſeem that it was encouraged by the church. But a thing happened which might eaſily have been foreſeen. The Lodges had become familiar with this kind of invention; the profeſſed object of many *real* Orders

Orders of Knighthood was often very whimsical, or very refined and far-fetched, and it required all the finesse of the clergy to give to it some slight connection with religion or morality. The Masons, protected by their secrecy, ventured to go farther. The declamations in the lodges by the Brother orator, must naturally resemble the compositions of the ancient sophists, and consist of wire-drawn dissertations on the social duties, where every thing is amplified and strained to hyperbole, in their far-fetched and fanciful explanations of the symbols of Masonry. Thus accustomed to allegory, to fiction, to finesse, and to a sort of innocent hypocrisy by which they cajoled themselves into a notion that this child's-play had at bottom a serious and important meaning, the zealous champions of Free Masonry found no inclination to check this inventive spirit or circumscribe its flights. Under the protection of Masonic secrecy, they planned schemes of a different kind, and instead of more Orders of Chivalry directed against the enemies of their faith, they formed associations in opposition to the ridiculous and oppressive ceremonies and superstitions of the church. There can be no doubt, that in those hidden assemblies, a free communication of sentiment was highly relished and much indulged. It was soon suspected that such use was made of the covert of a Mason Lodge; and the church dreaded the consequences, and endeavoured

ed to ſuppreſs the Lodges. But in vain. And when it was found, that even auricular confeſſion, and the ſpiritual threatenings of the church, could not make the Brethren break their oath of ſecrecy; a full confidence in their ſecurity made theſe free-thinking Brethren bring forward, with all the eagerneſs of a miſſionary, ſuch ſentiments as they were afraid to hazard in ordinary ſociety. This was long ſuſpected; but the rigours of the church only ſerved to knit the Brethren more firmly together, and provoked them to a more eager exerciſe of their bold criticiſms. The Lodges became ſchools of ſcepticiſm and infidelity, and the ſpirit of converſion or proſelytiſm grew every day ſtronger. Cardinal Dubois had before this time laboured with all his might to corrupt the minds of the courtiers, by patroniſing, directly and indirectly, all ſceptics who were otherwiſe men of talents. He gave the young courtiers to underſtand, that if he ſhould obtain the reins of government, they ſhould be entirely freed from the bigotry of Louis XIV. and the oppreſſion of the church, and ſhould have the free indulgence of their inclinations. His own plans were diſappointed by his death; but the Regent Orleans was equally indulgent, and in a few years there was hardly a man in France who pretended knowledge and reflection, who did not laugh at all religion. Amidſt the almoſt infinite number of pub-

lications from the French preſſes, there is hardly a dozen to be found where the author attempts to vindicate religion from the charges of univerſal ſuperſtition and falſehood. And it muſt be acknowledged that little elſe was to be ſeen in the eſtabliſhed religion of the kingdom. The people found nothing in Chriſtianity but a never-ceaſing round of inſignificant and troubleſome ceremonies, which conſumed their time, and furniſhed a fund for ſupporting a ſet of lordly and oppreſſive dignitaries, who declared in the plaineſt manner their own diſbelief of their religion, by their total diſregard of common decency, by their continual reſidence at court, and by abſolute neglect, and even the moſt haughty and oppreſſive treatment of the only part of their order that took any concern about the religious ſentiments of the nation, namely, the Curés or pariſh-prieſts. The monks appeared only as lazy drones; but the pariſh-prieſts inſtructed the people, viſited the ſick, reconciled the offender and the offended, and were the great mediators between the landlords and their vaſſals, an office which endeared them more to the people than all the other circumſtances of their profeſſion. And it is remarkable, that in all the licentious writings and bitter ſatirical tales of the philoſophic freethinkers, ſuch as Voltaire, who never fails to have a taunting hit at the clergy, the Curé is generally an amiable perſonage, a charitable man, a

friend to the poor and unfortunate, a peace-maker, and a man of piety and worth. Yet these men were kept in a state of the most slavish and cruel subjection by the higher orders of the clergy, and all hopes of advancement cut off. Rarely, hardly ever, does it happen, that a Curé becomes a Bishop. The Abbés step into every line of preferment. When such procedure is observed by a whole nation, what opinion can be formed but that the whole is a vile cheat? This however was the case in France, and therefore infidelity was almost universal. Nor was this overstrained freedom or licentiousness confined to religious opinions. It was perhaps more naturally directed to the restraints arising from civil subordination. The familiar name of Brother could not but tickle the fancy of those of inferior rank, when they found themselves side by side with persons whom they cannot approach out of doors but with cautious respect; and while these men of rank have their pride lulled a little, and perhaps their hearts a little softened by the hackneyed cant of sentimental declamation on the topic of Brotherly love and Utopian felicity, the others begin to fancy the happy days arrived, and the light of philanthropy beaming from the east and illuminating the Lodge. The Garret Pamphleteer enjoys his fancied authority as Senior Warden, and conducts with affectionate solemnity the young nobleman, who

who pants for the honour of Maſterſhip, and he praiſes the truſty Brother who has guarded him in his perilous journies round the room. What topic of declamation can be more agreeable than the equality of the worthy Brethren? and how naturally will the Brother Orator in ſupport of this favourite topic, ſlide into all the common-place pictures of human ſociety, freed from all the anxieties attending civil diſtinction, and paſſing their days in happy ſimplicity and equality. From this ſtate of the fancy, it is hardly a ſtep to deſcant on the propriety, the expediency, and at laſt, the juſtice of ſuch an arrangement of civil ſociety; and in doing this, one cannot avoid taking notice of the great obſtructions to human felicity which we ſee in every quarter, proceeding from the abuſes of thoſe diſtinctions of rank and fortune which have ariſen in the world: and as the miſchiefs and horrors of ſuperſtition are topics of continual declamation to thoſe who wiſh to throw off the reſtraints of religion; ſo the oppreſſion of the rulers of this world, and the ſufferings of talents and worth in inferior ſtations, will be no leſs greedily liſtened to by all whoſe notions of morality are not very pure, and who would be glad to have the enjoyments of the wealthy without the trouble of labouring for them. Free Maſonry may be affirmed to have a natural tendency to foſter ſuch levelling wiſhes; and we cannot doubt but that great liberties are

taken with thoſe ſubjects in the Lodges, eſpecially in countries where the diſtinctions of rank and fortune are ſtrongly expreſſed and noticed.

But it is not a matter of mere probability that the Maſon Lodges were the ſeminaries of theſe libertine inſtructions. We have diſtinct proof of it, even in ſome of the French degrees. In the degree called the *Chevalier de Soleil*, the whole inſtruction is aimed againſt the eſtabliſhed religion of the kingdom. The profeſſed object is the emancipation from error and the diſcovery of truth. The inſcription in the eaſt is *Sageſſe*, that in the north is *Liberté*, that in the ſouth is *Fermeté*, and in the weſt it is *Caution;* terms which are very ſignificant. The *Tres Venerable* is Adam; the Senior Warden is Truth, and all the Brethren are Children of Truth. The proceſs of reception is very well contrived: the whole ritual is decent and circumſpect, and nothing occurs which can alarm the moſt timid. Brother Truth is aſked, What is the hour? He informs Father Adam, that among men it is the hour of darkneſs, but that it is mid-day in the Lodge. The candidate is aſked, Why he has knocked at the door, and what is become of his eight companions (he is one of the *Elus*)? He ſays, that the world is in darkneſs, and his companions and he have loſt each other; that *Heſperus*, the ſtar of Europe, is obſcured by clouds of incenſe, offered up by ſuperſtition to deſpots, who

who have made themſelves gods, and have retired into the inmoſt receſſes of their palaces, that they may not be recogniſed to be men, while their prieſts are deceiving the people, and cauſing them to worſhip theſe divinities. This and many ſimilar ſentiments are evident alluſions to the pernicious doctrine of the book called *Origine du Deſpotiſme Oriental*, where the religion of all countries is conſidered as a mere engine of ſtate; where it is declared that reaſon is the only light which nature has given to man; that our anxiety about futurity has made us imagine endleſs torments in a future world; and that princes, taking advantage of our weakneſs, have taken the management of our hopes and fears, and directed them ſo as to ſuit their own purpoſes; and emancipation from the fear of death is declared to be the greateſt of all deliverances. Queſtions are put to the candidate, tending to diſcover whether and how far he may be truſted, and what ſacrifices he is willing to make in ſearch after truth.

This ſhape given to the plaſtic myſteries of Maſonry was much reliſhed, and in a very ſhort time this new path was completely explored, and a new ſeries of degrees was added to the liſt, viz. the *Novice*, and the *Elu de la Verité*, and the *Sublime Philoſophe*. In the progreſs through theſe degrees, the Brethren muſt forget that they have formerly been *Chevaliers de l'Orient*, *Chevaliers de l'Aigle*, when the ſymbols were all explained as typical

of the life and immortality brought to light by the gospel. Indeed they are taught to class this among the other clouds which have been dispelled by the sun of reason. Even in the *Chevalerie de l'Aigle* there is a twofold explanation given of the symbols, by which a lively imagination may conceive the whole history and peculiar doctrines of the New Testament, as being typical of the final triumph of reason and philosophy over error. And perhaps this degree is the very first step in the plan of ILLUMINATION.

We are not to suppose that this was carried to extremity at once. But it is certain, that before 1743, it had become universal, and that the Lodges of Free Masons had become the places for making proselytes to every strange and obnoxious doctrine. *Theurgy*, *Cosmogony*, *Cabala*, and many whimsical and mystical doctrines which have been grafted on the distinguishing tenets and the pure morality of the Jews and Christians, were subjects of frequent discussion in the Lodges. The celebrated Chevalier Ramsay had a great share in all this business. Affectionately attached to the family of Stuart, and to his native country, he had co-operated heartily with those who endeavoured to employ Masonry in the service of the Pretender, and, availing himself of the pre-eminence given (at first perhaps as a courtly compliment) to Scotch Masonry, he laboured to shew that it existed,

iſted, and indeed aroſe, during the Cruſades, and that there really was either an order of chivalry whoſe buſineſs it was to rebuild the Chriſtian churches deſtroyed by the Saracens, or that a fraternity of Scotch Maſons were thus employed in the eaſt, under the protection of the Knights of St. John of Jeruſalem. He found ſome facts which were thought ſufficient grounds for ſuch an opinion, ſuch as the building of the college of theſe Knights in London, called the Temple, which was actually done by the public Fraternity of Maſons who had been in the holy wars. It is chiefly to him that we are indebted for that rage for Maſonic chivalry which diſtinguiſhes the French Free Maſonry. Ramſay was as eminent for his piety as he was for his enthuſiaſm, but his opinions were ſingular. His eminent learning, his elegant talents, his amiable character, and particularly his eſtimation at court, gave great influence to every thing he ſaid on a ſubject which was merely a matter of faſhion and amuſement. Whoever has attended much to human affairs, knows the eagerneſs with which men propagate all ſingular opinions, and the delight which attends their favourable reception. None are more zealous than the apoſtles of infidelity and atheiſm. It is in human nature to catch with greedineſs any opportunity of doing what lies under general reſtraint. And if our apprehenſions are not completely quieted, in a

caſe where our wiſhes lead us ſtrongly to ſome favourite but hazardous object, we are conſcious of a kind of ſelf bullying. This naturally gets into our diſcourſe, and in our eagerneſs to get the encouragement of joint adventurers, we enforce our tenets with an energy, and even a violence, that is very inconſiſtent with the ſubject in hand. If I am an Atheiſt, and my neighbour a Theiſt, there is ſurely nothing that ſhould make me violent in my endeavours to rid him of his error. Yet how violent were the people of this party in France.

Theſe facts and obſervations fully account for the zeal with which all this patch-work addition to the ſimple Free Maſonry of England was proſecuted in France. It ſurpriſes us Britons, who are accuſtomed to conſider the whole as a matter of amuſement for young men, who are glad of any pretext for indulging in conviviality. We generally conſider a man advanced in life with leſs reſpect, if he ſhows any ſerious attachment to ſuch things. But in France, the civil and religious reſtraints on converſation made theſe ſecret aſſemblies very precious; and they were much frequented by men of letters, who there found an opportunity of expreſſing in ſafety their diſſatisfaction with thoſe reſtraints, and with that inferiority of rank and condition to which they were ſubjected, and which appeared to themſelves ſo inadequate to their own talents and merits.

The *Avocats au Parlement*, the unbeneficed Abbés, the young men of no fortune, and the *ſci-diſant* philoſophers, formed a numerous band, frequented the Lodges, and there diſcuſſed every topic of religion and politics. Specimens of this occupation appeared from time to time in Collections of Diſcourſes delivered by the *Frere Orateur*. I once had in my poſſeſſion two volumes of theſe diſcourſes, which I now regret that I left in a Lodge on the continent, when my reliſh for Free Maſonry had forſaken me. One of theſe is a diſcourſe by Brother Robinet, delivered in the *Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaiſants de la Sainte Cité* at Lyons, at a viſitation by the Grand Maſter the *Duc de Chartres*, afterwards *Orleans* and *Egalité*. In this diſcourſe we have the germ and ſubſtance of his noted work, *La Nature, ou l'Homme moral et phyſique**. In another diſcourſe, delivered by Brother Condorcet in the *Loge des Philalethes* at Straſbourg, we have the outlines of his poſthumous work, *Le Progres de l'Eſprit humain;* and in another, delivered by Mirabeau in the *Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaiſants* at Paris, we have a great deal of the levelling principles, and coſmopoliti†ſm, which he thundered from the tribunes

* And I may add the *Syſtême de la Nature* of Diderot, who corrected the crude whims of Robinet by the more refined mechaniſm of Hartley.

† Citizenſhip of the World, from the Greek words *Coſmos*, world, and *Polis*, a city.

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of the National Aſſembly. But the moſt remarkable performances of this kind are, the *Archives Myſtico-Hermetiques*, and the *Des Erreurs, et de la Verité*. The firſt is conſidered as an account, hiſtorical and dogmatical, of the procedure and ſyſtem of the *Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaiſants* at Lyons. This was the moſt zealous and ſyſtematical of all the coſmopolitical Lodges in France. It worked long under the patronage of its Grand Maſter the *Duc des Chartres*, afterwards *Orleans*, and at laſt *Ph. Egalité*. It ſent out many affiliated Lodges, which were erected in various parts of the French dominions. The daughter Lodges at Paris, Straſbourg, Lille, Thouloufe, took the additional title of *Philalethes*. There aroſe ſome ſchiſms, as may be expected, in an Aſſociation where every man is encouraged to broach and to propagate any the moſt ſingular opinion. Theſe ſchiſms were continued with ſome heat, but were in a great meaſure repaired in Lodges which took the name of *Amis reunis de la Verité*. One of this denomination at Paris became very eminent. The mother Lodge at Lyons extended its correſpondence into Germany, and other foreign countries, and ſent conſtitutions or ſyſtems, by which the Lodges conducted their operations.

I have not been able to trace the ſteps by which this Lodge acquired ſuch an aſcendancy; but I ſee, that in 1769 and 1770, all the refined

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or philoſophical Lodges in Alſace and Lorraine united, and in a convention at Lyons, formally put themſelves under the patronage of this Lodge, cultivated a continual correſpondence, and conſidered themſelves as profeſſing one Maſonic Faith, ſufficiently diſtinguiſhable from that of other Lodges. What this was we do not very diſtinctly know. We can only infer it from ſome hiſtorical circumſtances. One of its favourite daughters, the Lodge *Theodor von der guten Rath*, at Munich, became ſo remarkable for diſcourſes dangerous to church and ſtate, that the Elector of Bavaria, after repeated admonitions during a courſe of five or ſix years, was obliged to ſuppreſs it in 1786. Another of its ſuffragan Lodges at Regenſburgh became exceedingly obnoxious to the ſtate, and occaſioned ſeveral commotions and inſurrections. Another, at Paris, gradually refined into the Jacobin club—And in the year 1791, the Lodges in Alſace and Lorraine, with thoſe of Spire and Worms, invited Cuſtine into Germany, and delivered Mentz into his hands.

When we reflect on theſe hiſtorical facts, we get ſome key to the better underſtanding of the two performances which I mentioned as deſcriptive of the opinions and occupations of this Sect of Free-Maſons. The *Archives Myſtico-Hermetiques* exhibit a very ſtrange mixture of Myſticiſm,

Myſticiſm, Theoſophy, Cabaliſtic whim, real Science, Fanaticiſm, and Freethinking, both in religion and politics. They muſt not be conſidered as an account of any ſettled ſyſtem, but rather as annals of the proceedings of the Lodge, and abſtracts of the ſtrange doctrines which made their ſucceſſive appearance in it. But if an intelligent and cautious reader examine them attentively, he will ſee, that the book is the work of one hand, and that all the wonders and oddities are caricatured, ſo as to engroſs the general attention, while they alſo are twiſted a little, ſo that in one way or another they accord with a general ſpirit of licentiouſneſs in morals, religion, and politics. Although every thing is expreſſed decently, and with ſome caution and moderation, atheiſm, materialiſm, and diſcontent with civil ſubordination, pervade the whole. It is a work of great art. By keeping the ridicule and the danger of ſuperſtition and ignorance continually in view, the mind is captivated by the relief which free enquiry and communication of ſentiment ſeems to ſecure, and we are put off our guard againſt the riſk of deluſion, to which we are expoſed when our judgment is warped by our paſſions.

The other book, "Des Erreurs et de la Verité," came from the ſame ſchool, and is a ſort of holy ſcripture, or at leaſt a Talmud among the

the Free Masons of France. It is intended only for the initiated, and is indeed a mystery to any other reader. But as the object of it was to spread the favourite opinions of some enthusiastic Brethren, every thing is said that does not directly betray the secrets of the Order. It contains a system of Theosophy that has often appeared in the writings of philosophers, both in ancient and modern times. "All the intelligence and moral sentiment that appears in the "universe, either directly, as in the minds of "men, or indirectly, as an inference from the "marks of design that we see around us, some "of which show us that men have acted, and "many more that some other intelligence has "acted, are considered as parts or portions of "a general mass of intelligence which exists in "the universe, in the same manner as matter "exists in it. This intelligence has an inscruta-"ble connection with the material part of the "universe, perhaps resembling the connection, "equally unsearchable, that subsists between "the mind and body of man; and it may be "considered as the *Soul of the World*. It is this "substance, the natural object of wonder and "respect, that men have called God, and have "made the object of religious worship. In do-"ing so they have fallen into gross mistakes, and "have created for themselves numberless un-

"founded

" founded hopes and fears, which have been the " ſource of ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, the moſt " deſtructive plagues that have ever afflicted the " human race. The Soul of Man is ſeparated " from the general maſs of intelligence by ſome " of the operations of nature, which we ſhall ne- " ver underſtand, juſt as water is raiſed from " the ground by evaporation, or taken up by the " root of a plant. And as the water, after an " unſearchable train of changes, in which it " ſometimes makes part of a flower, ſometimes " part of an animal, &c. is at laſt reunited, in " its original form, to the great maſs of waters, " ready to run over the ſame circle again; ſo " the Soul of Man, after performing its office, " and exhibiting all that train of intellectual phe- " nomena that we call human life, is at laſt " ſwallowed up in the great ocean of intelli- " gence." The author then may ſing

" Felix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas,
" Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
" Subjecit pedibus, ſtrepitumque Acherontis
" avari."

For he has now got to his aſylum. This deity of his may be the object of wonder, like every thing great and incomprehenſible, but not of worſhip, as the moral Governor of the univerſe. The hopes are at an end, which reſt on our notions

tions of the immortality and individuality of the human ſoul, and on the encouragement which religion holds forth to believe, that improvement of the mind in the courſe of this life, by the exerciſe of wiſdom and of virtuous diſpoſitions, is but the beginning of an endleſs progreſs in all that can give delight to the rational and well-diſpoſed mind. No relation now ſubſiſts between man and Deity that can warm the heart. But, as this is contrary to ſome natural propenſity in the human mind, which in all ages and nations has panted after ſome connection with Deity, the author ſtrives to avail himſelf of ſome cold principles of ſymmetry in the works of nature, ſome ill-ſupported notions of propriety, and other ſuch conſiderations, to make this *anima mundi* an object of love and reſpect. This is done in greater detail in another work, *Tableau des rapports entre l'Homme, Dieu, et l'Univers*, which is undoubtedly by the ſame hand. But the intelligent reader will readily ſee, that ſuch incongruous things cannot be reconciled, and that we can expect nothing here but ſophiſtry. The author proceeds, in the next place, to conſider man as related to man, and to trace out the path to happineſs in this life. Here we have the ſame overſtrained morality as in the other work, the ſame univerſal benevolence, the ſame lamentations over the miſerable ſtate of mankind,

kind, reſulting from the oppreſſion of the powerful, the great ones of the earth, who have combined againſt the happineſs of mankind, and have ſucceeded, by debaſing their minds, ſo that they have become willing ſlaves. This could not have been brought about without the aſſiſtance of ſuperſtition. But the princes of this world enliſted into their ſervice the prieſts, who exerted themſelves in darkening the underſtandings of men, and filled their minds with religious terrors. The altar became the chief pillar of the throne, and men were held in complete ſubjection. Nothing can recover them from this abject ſtate but knowledge. While this diſpels their fears, it will alſo ſhow them their rights, and the way to attain them.

It deſerves particularly to be remarked, that this ſyſtem of opinions (if ſuch an inconſiſtent maſs of aſſertions can be called a ſyſtem) bears a great reſemblance to a performance of Toland's, publiſhed in 1720, called *Pantheiſticon, ſeu Celebratio Sodalitii Socratici.* It is an account of the principles of a Fraternity which he calls Socratica, and the Brothers Pantheiſtæ. They are ſuppoſed to hold a Lodge, and the author gives a ritual of the procedure in this Lodge; the ceremonies of opening and ſhutting of the Lodge, the admiſſion of Members into its different degrees, &c. Reaſon is the Sun that illuminates the whole

whole, and Liberty and Equality are the objects of their occupations.

We ſhall ſee afterwards that this book was fondly puſhed into Germany, tranſlated, commented upon, and ſo miſrepreſented, as to call off the attention from the real ſpirit of the book, which is intentionally wrapped up in cabala and enigma. Mirabeau was at much pains to procure it notice; and it muſt therefore be conſidered as a treaſure of the coſmo-political opinions of the Aſſociation of *Chevaliers Bienfaiſants*, *Philalethes*, and *Amis Reunis*, who were called the *improved* Lodges, working under the D. de Chartres—of theſe there were 266 in 1784. This will be found a very important remark. Let it alſo be recollected afterwards, that this Lodge of Lyons ſent a deputy to a grand Convention in Germany in 1772, viz. Mr. Willermooz, and that the buſineſs was thought of ſuch importance, that he remained there two years.

The book *Des Erreurs et de la Verité*, muſt therefore be conſidered as a claſſical book of theſe opinions. We know that it originated in the *Loge des Chev. Bienfaiſants* at Lyons. We know that this Lodge ſtood as it were at the head of French Free Maſonry, and that the fictitious Order of Maſonic Knights Templars was formed in this Lodge, and was conſidered as the model of all the reſt of this mimic chivalry.

They proceeded so far in this mummery, as even to have the clerical tonsure. The Duke of Orleans, his son, the Elector of Bavaria, and some other German Princes, did not scruple at this mummery in their own persons. In all the Lodges of reception, the Brother Orator never failed to declaim on the topics of superstition, blind to the exhibition he was then making, or indifferent as to the vile hypocrisy of it. We have, in the lists of Orators and Office-bearers, many names of persons, who have had an opportunity at last of proclaiming their sentiments in public. The Abbé Sieyes was of the Lodge of Philalethes at Paris, and also at Lyons. Lequinio, author of the most profligate book that ever disgraced a press, the *Prejuges vaincus par la Raison*, was Warden in the Lodge *Compacte Sociale*. Despremenil, Bailly, Fauchet, Maury, Mounier, were of the same system, though in different Lodges. They were called Martinists, from a St. Martin, who formed a schism in the system of the *Chevaliers Bienfaisants*, of which we have not any very precise account. Mercier gives some account of it in his *Tableau de Paris*, and in his *Anné* 2440. The breach alarmed the Brethren, and occasioned great heats. But it was healed, and the Fraternity took the name of *Misa du Renis*, which is an anagram of *des Amis Reunis*. The Bishop of Autun, the man so bepraised

bepraiſed as the benevolent Citizen of the World, the friend of mankind and of good order, was Senior Warden of another Lodge at Paris, eſtabliſhed in 1786, (I think chiefly by Orleans and himſelf,) which afterwards became the Jacobin Club. In ſhort, we may aſſert with confidence, that the Maſon Lodges in France were the hot-beds, where the ſeeds were ſown, and tenderly reared, of all the pernicious doctrines which ſoon after choaked every moral or religious cultivation, and have made the Society worſe than a waſte, have made it a noiſome marſh of human corruption, filled with every rank and poiſonous weed.

Theſe Lodges were frequented by perſons of all ranks, and of every profeſſion. The idle and the frivolous found amuſement, and glittering things to tickle their ſatiated fancies. There they became the dupes of the declamations of the crafty and licentious Abbés, and writers of every denomination. Mutual encouragement in the indulgence of hazardous thoughts and opinions which flatter our wiſhes or propenſities is a lure which few minds can reſiſt. I believe that moſt men have felt this in ſome period of their lives. I can find no other way of accounting for the company that I have ſometimes ſeen in a Maſon Lodge. The Lodge *de la Parfaite Intelligence* at Liege, contained, in December 1770, the Prince

Biſhop, and the greateſt part of his Chapter, and all the Office-bearers were dignitaries of the church; yet a diſcourſe given by the Brother Orator was as poignant a ſatire on ſuperſtition and credulity, as if it had been written by Voltaire. It was under the auſpices of this Lodge that the collection of diſcourſes, which I mentioned above, was publiſhed, and there is no fault found with Brother Robinet, nor Brother Condorcet. Indeed the Trefonciers of Liege were proverbial, even in Brabant, for their Epicuriſm in the moſt extenſive ſenſe of the word.

Thus was corruption ſpread over the kingdom under the maſk of moral inſtruction. For theſe diſcourſes were full of the moſt refined and ſtrained morality, and florid paintings of Utopian felicity, in a ſtate where all are Brothers and citizens of the world. But alas! theſe wire-drawn principles ſeem to have had little influence on the hearts, even of thoſe who could beſt diſplay their beauties. Read the tragedies of Voltaire, and ſome of his grave performances in proſe—What man is there who ſeems better to know his Maſter's will? No man expreſſes with more propriety, with more exactneſs, the feelings of a good mind. No man ſeems more ſenſible of the immutable obligation of juſtice and of truth. Yet this man, in his tranſactions with his book-ſellers, with the very men to whom he was immediately

mediately indebted for his affluence and his fame, was repeatedly, nay inceſſantly, guilty of the meaneſt, the vileſt tricks. When he ſold a work for an enormous price to one bookſeller, (even to Cramer, whom he really reſpected,) he took care that a ſurreptitious edition ſhould appear in Holland, almoſt at the ſame moment. Proof-ſheets have been traced from Ferney to Amſterdam. When a friend of Cramer's expoſtulated with Voltaire on the injuſtice of this conduct, he ſaid, grinning, *Oh le bon Cramer—eh bien—il n'a que d' etre du parti*—he may take a ſhare—he will not give me a livre the leſs for the firſt piece I offer him. Where ſhall we ſee more tenderneſs, more honour, more love of every thing that is good and fair, than in Diderot's *Pere de Famille?* —Yet this man did not ſcruple to ſell to the Empreſs of Ruſſia an immenſe library, which he did not poſſeſs, for an enormous price, having got her promiſe that it ſhould remain in his poſſeſſion in Paris during his life. When her ambaſſador wanted to ſee it, after a year or two's payments, and the viſitation could be no longer ſtaved off, Diderot was obliged to ſet off in a hurry, and run through all the bookſellers ſhops in Germany, to help him to fill his empty ſhelves. He had the good fortune to ſave appearances—but the trick took air, becauſe he had been niggardly in his attention to the ambaſſador's ſecre-

tary. This, however, did not hinder him from honouring his Imperial pupil with a viſit. He expected adoration, as the light of the world, and was indeed received by the Ruſſian courtiers with all the childiſh fondneſs that they feel for every Pariſian mode. But they did not underſtand him, and as he did not like to loſe money at play, they did not long court his company. He found his pupil too clearſighted. *Ces philoſophes*, ſaid ſhe, *ſont beaux, vûs de loin; mais de plus prés, le diamant parait cryſtal.* He had contrived a poor ſtory, by which he hoped to get his daughter married in parade, and portioned by her Majeſty—but it was ſeen through, and he was diſappointed.

When we ſee the inefficacy of this refined humanity on theſe two apoſtles of philoſophical virtue, we ſee ground for doubting of the propriety and expediency of truſting entirely to it for the peace and happineſs of a ſtate, and we ſhould be on our guard when we liſten to the florid ſpeeches of the Brother Orator, and his congratulations on the emancipation from ſuperſtition and oppreſſion, which will in a ſhort time be effectuated by the *Chevaliers Bienfaiſants*, the *Philalethes*, or any other ſect of coſmo-political Brethren.

I do not mean by all this to maintain, that the Maſon Lodges were the ſole corrupters of the

the public mind in France.—No.—In all nations that have made much progreſs in cultivation, there is a great tendency to corruption, and it requires all the vigilance and exertions of magiſtrates, and of moral inſtructors, to prevent the ſpreading of licentious principles and maxims of conduct. They ariſe naturally of themſelves, as weeds in a rich ſoil; and, like weeds, they are pernicious, only becauſe they are, where they ſhould not be, in a cultivated field. Virtue is the cultivation of the human ſoul, and not the mere poſſeſſion of good diſpoſitions; all men have theſe in ſome degree, and occaſionally exhibit them. But virtue ſuppoſes exertion; and, as the huſbandman muſt be incited to his laborious taſk by ſome cogent motive, ſo muſt man be prompted to that exertion which is neceſſary on the part of every individual for the very exiſtence of a great ſociety: For man is indolent, and he is luxurious; he wiſhes for enjoyment, and this with little trouble. The leſs fortunate envy the enjoyments of others, and repine at their own inability to obtain the like. They ſee the idle in affluence. Few, even of good men, have the candour, nay, I may call it the wiſdom, to think on the activity and the labour which had procured thoſe comforts to the rich or to their anceſtors; and to believe that they are idle only becauſe they are wealthy, but would be active if they were

needy. Such ſpontaneous reflexions cannot be expected in perſons who are engaged in unceaſing labour, to procure a very moderate ſhare (in their eſtimation at leaſt) of the comforts of life. Yet ſuch reflexions would, in the main, be juſt, and ſurely they would greatly tend to quiet the minds of the unſucceſsful.

This excellent purpoſe may be greatly forwarded by a national eſtabliſhment for moral inſtruction and admonition; and if the public inſtructors ſhould add all the motives to virtuous moderation which are ſuggeſted by the conſiderations of genuine religion, every advice would have a tenfold influence. Religious and moral inſtructions are therefore, in their own nature, unequivocal ſupports to that moderate exertion of the authority ariſing from civil ſubordination, which the moſt refined philanthropiſt or coſmopolite acknowledges to be neceſſary for the very exiſtence of a great and cultivated ſociety. I have never ſeen a ſcheme of Utopian happineſs that did not contain ſome ſyſtem of education, and I cannot conceive any ſyſtem of education of which moral inſtruction is not a principal part. Such eſtabliſhments are dictates of nature, and obtrude themſelves on the mind of every perſon who begins to form plans of civil union. And in all exiſting ſocieties they have indeed been formed, and are conſidered as the greateſt corrector

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and ſoother of thoſe diſcontents that are unavoidable in the minds of the unſucceſsful and the unfortunate. The magiſtrate, therefore, whoſe profeſſional habits lead him frequently to exert himſelf for the maintenance of public peace, cannot but ſee the advantages of ſuch ſtated remembrancers of our duty. He will therefore ſupport and cheriſh this public eſtabliſhment, which ſo evidently aſſiſts him in his beneficent and important labours.

But all the evils of ſociety do not ſpring from the diſcontents and the vices of the poor. The rich come in for a large and a conſpicuous ſhare. They frequently abuſe their advantages. Pride and haughty behaviour on their part rankle in the breaſts, and affect the tempers of their inferiors, already fretted by the hardſhips of their own condition. The rich alſo are luxurious; and are often needy. Graſping at every mean of gratification, they are inattentive to the rights of inferiors whom they deſpiſe, and, deſpiſing, oppreſs. Perhaps their own ſuperiority has been acquired by injuſtice. Perhaps moſt ſovereignties have been acquired by oppreſſion. Princes and Rulers are but men; as ſuch, they abuſe many of their greateſt bleſſings. Obſerving that religious hopes make the good reſigned under the hardſhips of the preſent ſcene, and that its terrors frequently reſtrain the bad; they avail themſelves of theſe obſervations, and ſupport religion as an engine

engine of ſtate, and a mean of their own ſecurity. But they are not contented with its real advantages; and they are much more afraid of the reſentment and the crimes of the offended profligate, than of the murmurs of the ſuffering worthy. Therefore they encourage ſuperſtition, and call to their aid the vices of the prieſthood. The prieſts are men of like paſſions as other men, and it is no ground of peculiar blame that they alſo frequently yield to the temptations of their ſituation. They are encouraged to the indulgence of the love of influence natural to all men, and they heap terror upon terror, to ſubdue the minds of men, and darken their underſtandings. Thus, the moſt honourable of all employments, the moral inſtruction of the ſtate, is degraded to a vile trade, and is practiſed with all the deceit and rapacity of any other trade; and religion, from being the honour and the ſafeguard of a nation, becomes its greateſt diſgrace and curſe.

When a nation has fallen into this lamentable ſtate, it is extremely difficult to reform. Although nothing would ſo immediately and ſo completely remove all ground of complaint, as the re-eſtabliſhing private virtue, this is of all others the leaſt likely to be adopted. The really worthy, who ſee the miſchief where it actually is, but who view this life as the ſchool of improvement, and know that man is to be made perfect through ſuffering,

ſuffering, are the laſt perſons to complain. The worthleſs are the moſt diſcontented, the moſt noiſy in their complaints, and the leaſt ſcrupulous about the means of redreſs. Not to improve the nation, but to advance themſelves, they turn the attention to the abuſes of power and influence. And they begin their attack where they think the place moſt defenceleſs, and where perhaps they expect aſſiſtance from a diſcontented garriſon. They attack ſuperſtition, and are not at all ſolicitous that true religion ſhall not ſuffer along with it. It is not, perhaps, with any direct intention to ruin the ſtate, but merely to obtain indulgence for themſelves and the co-operation of the wealthy. They expect to be liſtened to by many who wiſh for the ſame indulgence; and thus it is that religious free-thinking is generally the firſt ſtep of anarchy and revolution. For in a corrupted ſtate, perſons of all ranks have the ſame licentious wiſhes, and if ſuperſtitious fear be really an ingredient of the human mind, it requires ſome *ſtruggle* to ſhake it off. Nothing is ſo effectual as mutual encouragement, and therefore all join againſt prieſtcraft; even the rulers forget their intereſt, which ſhould lead them to ſupport it. In ſuch a ſtate, the pure morality of true religion vaniſhes from the ſight. There is commonly no remains of it in the religion of the nation, and therefore all goes together.

Perhaps

Perhaps there never was a nation where all theſe co-operating cauſes had acquired greater ſtrength than in France. Oppreſſions of all kinds were at a height. The luxuries of life were enjoyed excluſively by the upper claſſes, and this in the higheſt degree of refinement; ſo that the deſires of the reſt were whetted to the utmoſt. Religion appeared in its worſt form, and ſeemed calculated ſolely for procuring eſtabliſhments for the younger ſons of the inſolent and uſeleſs nobleſſe. The morals of the higher orders of the clergy and of the laity were equally corrupted. Thouſands of literary men were excluded by their ſtation from all hopes of advancement to the more reſpectable offices in the church. Theſe vented their diſcontents as far as there was ſafety, and were encouraged by many of the upper claſſes, who joined them in their ſatires on the prieſthood. The clergy oppoſed them, it is true, but feebly, becauſe they could not ſupport their oppoſition by examples of their own virtuous behaviour, but were always obliged to have recourſe to the power of the church, the very object of hatred and diſguſt. The whole nation became infidel; and when in a few inſtances a worthy Curé uttered the ſmall ſtill voice of true religion, it was not heard amidſt the general noiſe of ſatire and reproach. The miſconduct of adminiſtration, and the abuſe of the public treaſures, were every day

growing

growing more impudent and glaring, and expoſed the government to continual criticiſm. But it was ſtill too powerful to ſuffer this to proceed to extremities; while therefore infidelity and looſe ſentiments of morality paſſed unpuniſhed, it was ſtill very hazardous to publiſh any thing againſt the ſtate. It was in this reſpect chiefly, that the Maſon Lodges contributed to the diſſemination of dangerous opinions, and they were employed for this purpoſe all over the kingdom. This is not an aſſertion hazarded merely on account of its probability. Abundant proof will appear by and by, that the moſt turbulent characters in the nation frequented the Lodges. We cannot doubt, but that under this covert they indulged their factious diſpoſitions; nay, we ſhall find the greateſt part of the Lodges of France, converted, in the courſe of a very few weeks, into correſponding political ſocieties.

But it is now time to turn our eyes to the progreſs of Free Maſonry in Germany and the north of Europe; there it took a more ſerious turn. Free Maſonry was imported into Germany ſomewhat later than into France. The firſt German Lodge that we have any account of is that at Cologne, erected in 1716, but very ſoon ſuppreſſed. Before the year 1725 there were many, both in Proteſtant and Catholic Germany. Thoſe of Wetzlar,

Wetzlar, Frankfort on the Mayne, Brunſwick, and Hamburg, are the oldeſt, and their priority is doubtful. All of them received their inſtitution from England, and had patents from a mother Lodge in London. All ſeem to have got the myſtery through the ſame channel, the baniſhed friends of the Stuart family. Many of theſe were Catholicks, and entered into the ſervice of Auſtria and the Catholick princes.

The true hoſpitality, that is no where more conſpicuous than in the character of the Germans, made this inſtitution a moſt agreeable and uſeful paſſport to theſe gentlemen; and as many of them were in military ſtations, and in garriſon, they found it a very eaſy matter to ſet up Lodges in all parts of Germany. Theſe afforded a very agreeable paſtime to the officers, who had little to occupy them, and were already accuſtomed to a ſubordination which did not affect their vanity on account of family diſtinctions. As the Enſign and the General were equally gentlemen, the allegory or play of univerſal Brotherhood was neither novel nor diſguſting. Free Maſonry was then of the ſimpleſt form, conſiſting of the three degrees of Apprentice, Fellow-craft, and Maſter. It is remarkable, that the Germans had been long accuſtomed to the word, the ſign, and the gripe of the Maſons, and ſome other handicraft trades. In many parts of Germany there was a diſtinction

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of operative Maſons into Wort-Maurers and Schrift-Maurers. The Wort-Maurers had no other proof to give of their having been regularly brought up to the trade of builders, but the word and ſigns; the Schrift-Maurers had written indentures to ſhew. There are extant and in force, borough-laws, enjoining the Maſters of Maſons to give employment to journeymen who had the proper words and ſign. In particular it appears, that ſome cities had more extenſive privileges in this reſpect than others. The word given at Wetzlar, the ſeat of the great council of reviſion for the empire, entitled the poſſeſſor to work over the whole empire. We may infer from the proceſſes and deciſions in ſome of thoſe municipal courts, that a maſter gave a word and token for each year's progreſs of his apprentice. He gave the word of the incorporated Imperial city or borough on which he depended, and alſo a word peculiar to himſelf, by which all his own pupils could recogniſe each other. This mode of recogniſance was probably the only document of education in old times, while writing was confined to a very ſmall part of the community. When we reflect on the nature of the German empire, a confederation of ſmall independent ſtates, we ſee that this profeſſion cannot keep pace with the other mechanic arts, unleſs its practitioners are inveſted with greater privileges than others. Their

great works exceed the ſtrength of the immediate neighbourhood, and the workmen muſt be brought together from a diſtance. Their aſſociation muſt therefore be more cared for by the public*.

When Engliſh Free Maſonary was carried into Germany, it was hoſpitably received. It required little effort to give it reſpectability, and to make it the occupation of a gentleman, and its ſecrets and myſteries were not ſuch novelties as in France. It ſpread rapidly, and the ſimple topic of Brotherly love was ſufficient for recommending it to the honeſt and hoſpitable Germans. But it ſoon took a very different turn. The German character is the very oppoſite of frivolity. It tends to ſerioufneſs, and requires ſerious occupation. The Germans are eminent for their turn for inveſtigation; and perhaps they indulge this to exceſs. We call them plodding and dull, becauſe we have little reliſh for enquiry for its own ſake. But this is ſurely the occupation of a rational nature, and deſerves any name but ſtupidity. At the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged, that the ſpirit of enquiry requires regulation as much as any propenſity of the human mind. But it appears that the Germans are not nice in their choice of their

* Note the Wort or Grüfs-Maurer were aboliſhed by an Imperial edict in 1731, and none were intitled to the privileges of the corporation but ſuch as could ſhew written indentures.

objects;

objects; it appears that ſingularity, and wonder, and difficulty of reſearch, are to them irreſiſtible recommendations and incitements. They have always exhibited a ſtrong predilection for every thing that is wonderful, or ſolemn, or terrible; and in ſpite of the great progreſs which men have made in the courſe of theſe two laſt centuries, in the knowledge of nature, a progreſs too in which we ſhould be very unjuſt if we did not acknowledge that the Germans have been generally in the foremoſt ranks, the groſs abſurdities of magic, exorciſm, witchcraft, fortune-telling, tranſmutation of metals, and univerſal medicine, have always had their zealous partizans, who have liſtened with greedy ears to the nonſenſe and jargon of fanatics and cheats; and though they every day ſaw examples of many who had been ruined or rendered ridiculous by their credulity, every new pretender to ſecrets found numbers ready to liſten to him, and to run over the ſame courſe.

Free-Maſonry, profeſſing myſteries, inſtantly rouſed all theſe people, and the Lodges appeared to the adventurers who wanted to profit by the enthuſiaſm or the avarice of their dupes, the fitteſt places in the world for the ſcene of their operations. The Roſycrucians were the firſt who availed themſelves of the opportunity. This was not the Society which had appeared formerly un-

der that name, and was now extinct, but a ſet of Alchymiſts, pretenders to the tranſmutation of metals and the univerſal medicine, who, the better to inveigle their votaries, had mixed with their own tricks a good deal of the abſurd ſuperſtitions of that ſect, in order to give a greater air of myſtery to the whole, to protract the time of inſtruction, and to afford more room for evaſions, by making ſo many difficult conditions neceſſary for perfecting the grand work, that the unfortunate gull, who had thrown away his time and his money, might believe that the failure was owing to his own incapacity or unfitneſs for being the poſſeſſor of the grand ſecret. Theſe cheats found it convenient to make Maſonry one of their conditions, and by a ſmall degree of art, perſuaded their pupils that they were the only true Maſons. Theſe Roſycrucian Lodges were ſoon eſtabliſhed, and became numerous, becauſe their myſteries were addreſſed, both to the curioſity, the ſenſuality, and the avarice of men. They became a very formidable band, adopting the conſtitution of the Jeſuits, dividing the Fraternity into circles, each under the management of its own ſuperior, known to the preſident, but known to the individuals of the Lodges. Theſe ſuperiors were connected with each other in a way known only to themſelves, and the whole was under one General. At leaſt this

is the account which they wiſh to be believed. If it be juſt, nothing but the abſurdity of the oſtenſible motives of their occupations could have prevented this combination from carrying on ſchemes big with hazard to the peace of the world. But the Roſycrucian Lodges have always been conſidered by other Free Maſons as bad Societies, and as groſs ſchiſmatics. This did not hinder, however, their alchemical and medical ſecrets from being frequently introduced into the Lodges of ſimple Free Maſonry; and in like manner, exorciſm, or ghoſt-raiſing, magic, and other groſs ſuperſtitions, were often held out in their meetings as attainable myſteries, which would be immenſe acquiſitions to the Fraternity, without any neceſſity of admitting along with them the religious deliriums of the Roſycrucians.

In 1743, Baron Hunde, a gentleman of honourable character and independent fortune, was in Paris, where he ſaid he had got acquainted with the Earl of Kilmarnock and ſome other gentlemen who were about the Pretender, and learned from them that they had ſome wonderful ſecrets in their Lodges. He was admitted, through the medium of that nobleman, and of a Lord Clifford, and his Maſonic patent was ſigned *George* (ſaid to be the ſignature of Kilmarnock). Hunde had attached himſelf to the fortunes of the Pretender,

in hopes (as he says himself) of rising in the world under his protection. The mighty secret was this. "When the Order of Knights Templars was abolished by Philip the Fair, and "cruelly persecuted, some worthy persons escaped, and took refuge in the Highlands of "Scotland, where they concealed themselves in "caves. These persons possessed the true secrets "of Masonry, which had always been in that "Order, having been acquired by the Knights, "during their services in the East, from the pilgrims whom they occasionally protected or delivered. The *Chevaliers de la Rose-Croix* continued to have the same duties as formerly, "though robbed of their emoluments. In fine, "every true Mason is a Knight Templar." It is very true that a clever fancy can accommodate the ritual of reception of the *Chevalier de l'Epée*, &c. to something like the institution of the Knights Templars, and perhaps this explanation of young Zerobabel's pilgrimage, and of the rebuilding of the Temple by Ezra, is the most significant explanation that has been given of the meagre symbols of Free Masonry.

When Baron Hunde returned to Germany, he exhibited to some friends his extensive powers for propagating this system of Masonry, and made a few Knights. But he was not very active. Probably the failure of the Pretender's attempt

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to recover the throne of his anceſtors had put an end to Hunde's hopes of making a figure. In the mean time Free Maſonry was cultivated with zeal in Germany, and many adventurers found their advantage in ſupporting particular ſchiſms.

But in 1756, or 1757, a complete revolution took place. The French officers who were priſoners at large in Berlin, undertook, with the aſſurance peculiar to their nation, to inſtruct the ſimple Germans in every thing that embelliſhes ſociety. They ſaid, that the homeſpun Free Maſonry, which had been imported from England, was fit only for the unpoliſhed minds of the Britiſh; but that in France it had grown into an elegant ſyſtem, fit for the profeſſion of Gentlemen. Nay, they ſaid, that the Engliſh were ignorant of true Maſonry, and poſſeſſed nothing but the introduction to it; and even this was not underſtood by them. When the ribbands and ſtars, with which the French had ornamented the Order, were ſhown to the Germans, they could not reſiſt the enchantment. A Mr. Roſa, a French commiſſary, brought from Paris a complete waggon load of Maſonic ornaments, which were all diſtributed before it had reached Berlin, and he was obliged to order another, to furniſh the Lodges of that city. It became for a while a moſt profitable buſineſs to many French officers and commiſſaries diſperſed over Ger-

many, having little elſe to do. Every body gaped for inſtruction, and theſe kind teachers were always ready to beſtow it. In half a year Free Maſonry underwent a complete revolution all over Germany, and Chevaliers multiplied without number. The Roſaic ſyſtem was a goſpel to the Maſons, and the poor Britiſh ſyſtem was deſpiſed. But the new Lodges of Berlin, as they had been the teachers of the whole empire, wanted alſo to be the governors, and inſiſted on complete ſubjection from all the others. This ſtartled the Free Maſons at a diſtance, and awaked them from their golden dreams. Now began a ſtruggle for dominion and for independency. This made the old Lodges think a little about the whole affair. The reſult of this was a counter revolution. Though no man could pretend that he underſtood the true meaning of Free Maſonry, its origin, its hiſtory, or its real aim, all ſaw that the interpretations of their hieroglyphics, and the rituals of the new degrees imported from France, were quite gratuitous. It appeared, therefore, that the ſafeſt thing for them was an appeal to the birth-place of Maſonry. They ſent to London for inſtructions. There they learned, that nothing was acknowledged for genuine unſophiſticated Maſonry but the three degrees; and that the mother Lodge of London alone could, by her inſtructions, pre-

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vent the moſt dangerous ſchiſms and innovations. Many Lodges, therefore, applied for patents and inſtructions. Patents were eaſily made out, and moſt willingly ſent to the zealous Brethren; and theſe were thankfully received and paid for. But inſtruction was not ſo eaſy a matter. At that time we had nothing but the book of conſtitutions, drawn up about 1720, by Anderſon and Deſaguilliers, two perſons of little education, and of low manners, who had aimed at little more than making a pretext, not altogether contemptible, for a convivial meeting. This, however, was received with reſpect. We are apt to ſmile at grave men's being ſatisfied with ſuch coarſe and ſcanty fare. But it was of uſe, merely becauſe it gave an oſtenſible reaſon for reſiſting the deſpotiſm of the Lodges of Berlin. Several reſpectable Lodges, particularly that of Frankfort on the Mayne, that of Brunſwick, that of Wetzlar, and the Royal York of Berlin, reſolutely adhered to the Engliſh ſyſtem, and denied themſelves all the enjoyment of the French degrees, rather than acknowledge the ſupremacy of the Roſaic Lodges of Berlin.

About the year 1764 a new revolution took place. An adventurer, who called himſelf Johnſon, and paſſed himſelf for an Engliſhman, but who was really a German or Bohemian named Leucht, ſaid that he was ambaſſador from the Chapter of

Knights Templars at Old Aberdeen in Scotland, ſent to teach the Germans what was true Maſonry. He pretended to tranſmute metals, and ſome of the Brethren declared that they had ſeen him do it repeatedly. This reached Baron Hunde, and brought back all his former enthuſiaſm. There is ſomething very dark in this part of the hiſtory; for in a little Johnſon told his partiſans that the only point he had to inform them of was, that Baron Hunde was the Grand Maſter of the 7th province of Maſonry, which included the whole of Germany, and the royal dominions of Pruſſia. He ſhowed them a map of the Maſonic Empire arranged into provinces, each of which had diſtinguiſhing emblems. Theſe are all taken from an old forgotten and inſignificant book, *Typotii Symbola Divina et Humana*, publiſhed in 1601. There is not the leaſt trace in this book either of Maſonry or Templars, and the emblems are taken out without the ſmalleſt ground of ſelection. Some inconſiſtency with the former magnificent promiſes of Johnſon ſtartled them at firſt, but they acquieſced and ſubmitted to Baron Hunde as Grand Maſter of Germany. Soon after Johnſon turned out to be a cheat, eſcaped, was taken, and put in priſon, where he died. Yet this ſeems not to have ruined the credit of Baron Hunde. He erected Lodges, gave a few ſimple inſtructions, all in the ſyſtem of Engliſh Maſonry, and promiſed,

miſed, that when they had approved themſelves as good Maſons, he would then impart the mighty ſecret. After two or three years of noviciate, a convention was held at Altenberg; and he told them thar his whole ſecret was, *that every true Maſon was a Knight Templar.* They were aſtoniſhed, and diſappointed; for they expected in general that he would teach them the philoſopher's ſtone, or ghoſt-raiſing, or magic. After much diſcontent, falling out, and diſpute, many Lodges united in this ſyſtem, made ſomewhat moderate and palatable, under the name of the STRICT DISCIPLINARIANS, *Strickten Obſervanz.* It was acceptable to many, becauſe they inſiſted that they were really Knights, properly conſecrated, though without temporalities; and they ſeriouſly ſet themſelves about forming a fund which ſhould ſecure the Order in a landed property and revenue, which would give them a reſpectable civil exiſtence. Hunde declared that his whole eſtate ſhould devolve on the Order. But the vexations which he afterwards met with, and his falling in love with a lady who prevailed on him to become Roman Catholic, made him alter his intention. The Order went on, however, and acquired conſiderable credit by the ſerious regularity of their proceedings; and, although in the mean time a new apoſtle of Myſteries, a Dr. Zinzendorff, one of the *Strict Obſervanz*, introduced

introduced a new ſyſtem, which he ſaid was from Sweden, diſtinguiſhed by ſome of the myſtical doctrines of the Swedenborgh ſect, and though the ſyſtem obtained the Royal patronage, and a National Lodge was eſtabliſhed at Berlin by patent, ſtill the *Tempelorden*, or *Orden des Strictен Obſervanz*, continued to be very reſpectable. The German gentry were better pleaſed with a Grand Maſter of their own chooſing, than with any impoſed on them by authority.

During this ſtate of things, one Stark, a Proteſtant divine, well known in Germany by his writings, made another trial of public faith. One Gugomos, (a private gentleman, but who would paſs for ſon to a King of Cyprus), and one Schropfer, keeper of a coffee-houſe at Nuremberg, drew crowds of Free Maſons around them, to learn ghoſt-raiſing, exorciſm, and alchymy. Numbers came from a great diſtance to Weiſbad to ſee and learn theſe myſteries, and Free Maſonry was on the point of another revolution. Dr. Stark was an adept in all theſe things, and had contended with Caglioſtro in Courland for the palm of ſuperiority. He ſaw that this deception could not long ſtand its ground. He therefore came forward, at a convention at Braunſchweig in 1772, and ſaid to the Strict Diſciplinarians or Templars, That he was of their Order, but of the ſpiritual department, and was deputed by the Chapter of

K—m—d—t

K—m—d—t in Scotland, where he was Chancellor of the Congregation, and had the name of Archidemides, *Eques ab Aquila fulva:* That this Chapter had the ſuperintendance of the Order: That they alone could conſecrate the Knights, or the unknown ſuperiors; and that he was deputed to inſtruct them in the real principles of the Order, and impart its ineſtimable ſecrets, which could not be known to Baron Hunde, as he would readily acknowledge when he ſhould converſe with him. Johnſon, he ſaid, had been a cheat, and probably a murderer. He had got ſome knowledge from papers which he muſt have ſtolen from a miſſionary, who had diſappeared, and was probably killed. Gugomos and Schropfer muſt have had ſome ſimilar information; and Schropfer had even deceived him for a time. He was ready to execute his commiſſion, upon their coming under the neceſſary obligations of ſecrecy and of ſubmiſſion. Hunde (whoſe name in the Order was the *Eques ab Enſe)* acquieſced at once, and propoſed a convention, with full powers to decide and accept. But a Schubart, a gentleman of character, who was treaſurer to the Templar Maſons, and had an employment which gave him conſiderable influence in the Order, ſtrongly diſſuaded them from ſuch a meaſure. The moſt unqualified ſubmiſſion to unknown ſuperiors, and to conditions equally unknown, was required

required previous to the ſmalleſt communication, or any knowledge of the powers which Archidemides had to treat with them. Many meetings were held, and many attempts were made to learn ſomething of this ſpiritual court, and of what they might expect from them. Dr. Stark, Baron Weggenſak, Baron Von Raven, and ſome others of his coadjutors in the Lodges at Koningſberg in Pruſſia, and at Wiſmar, were received into the Order. But in vain—nothing was obtained from theſe ghoſtly Knights but ſome inſignificant ceremonials of receptions and conſecrations. Of this kind of novelties they were already heartily ſick; and though they all panted after the expected wonders, they were ſo much frightened by the unconditional ſubmiſſion, that they could come to no agreement, and the ſecrets of the Scotch Congregation of K—m—d—t ſtill remain with Dr. Stark. Thsy did, however, a ſenſible thing; they ſent a deputation to Old Aberdeen, to enquire after the caves where their venerable myſteries were known, and their treaſures were hid. They had, as they thought, merited ſome more confidence; for they had remitted annual contributions to theſe unknown ſuperiors, to the amount of ſome thouſands of rixdollars. But alas! their ambaſſadors found the Free Maſons of Old Aberdeen ignorant of all this, and as eager to learn from the ambaſſadors what was the true origin,

origin and meaning of Free Masonry, of which they knew nothing but the simple tale of Old Hiram. This broke Stark's credit; but he still insisted on the reality of his commission, and said that the Brethren at Aberdeen were indeed ignorant, but that he had never said otherwise; their expectations from that quarter had rested on the scraps purloined by Johnson. He reminded them of a thing well known to themselves; that one of them had been sent for by a dying nobleman to receive papers on this subject, and that his visit having been delayed a few hours by an unavoidable accident, he found all burnt but a fragment of a capitulary and a thing in cypher, part of which he (Dr. Stark) had explained to them. They had employed another gentleman, a H. Wachter, to make similar enquiries in Italy, where Schropfer and others (even Hunde) had told them great secrets were to be obtained from the Pretender's secretary Approsi, and others. Wachter told them, that all this was a fiction, but that he had seen at Florence some Brethren from the Holy Land, who really possessed wonderful secrets, which he was willing to impart, on proper conditions. These, however, they could not accede to; but they were cruelly tortured by seeing Wachter, who had left Germany in sober circumstances, now a man of great wealth and expence. He would not acknowledge that he had got the secret

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of gold-making from the Aſiatic Brethren; but ſaid that no man had any right to aſk him how he had come by his fortune. It was enough that he behaved honourably, and owed no man any thing. He broke off all connections with them, and left them in great diſtreſs about their Order, and panting after his ſecrets. *Riſum teneatis amici.*

Stark, in revenge for the oppoſition he had met with from Schubart, left no ſtone unturned to hurt him with his Brethren, and ſucceeded, ſo that he left them in diſguſt. Hunde died about this time. A book appeared, called, *The Stumbling Block and Rock of Offence*, which betrayed (by their own confeſſion) the whole ſecrets of the Order of Templars, and ſoon made an end of it, as far as it went beyond the ſimple Engliſh Maſonry.

Thus was the faith of Free Maſons quite unhinged in Germany. But the rage for myſteries and wonder was not in the leaſt abated; and the habits of theſe ſecret Aſſemblies were becoming every day more craving. Diſſenſion and ſchiſm was multiplying in every quarter; and the Inſtitution, inſtead of being an incitement to mutual complaiſance and Brotherly love, had become a ſource of contention, and of bitter enmity. Not ſatisfied with defending the propriety of its own Inſtitutions, each Syſtem of Free Maſonry was buſy in enticing away the partiſans of other Syſtems, ſhut their Lodges againſt each other,

other, and proceeded even to vilify and perſecute the adherents of every Syſtem but their own.

Theſe animoſities aroſe chiefly from the quarrels about precedency, and the arrogance (as it was thought) of the patent Lodge of Berlin, in pretending to have any authority in the other parts of the empire. But theſe pretenſions were not the reſult of mere vanity. The French importers of the new degrees, always true to the glory of their nation, hoped by this means to ſecure the dependence even of this frivolous ſociety; perhaps they might foreſee political uſes and benefits which might ariſe from it. One thing is worth notice: The French Lodges had all emanated from the great Confederation under the Duke de Chartres; and, even if we had no other proof, we might preſume that they would cultivate the ſame principles that characteriſed that Sect. But we are certain that infidelity and laxity of moral principles were prevalent in the Roſaic Lodges, and that the obſervation of this corruption had offended many of the ſober old-faſhioned Lodges, and was one great cauſe of any check that was given to the brilliant Maſonry of France. It is the obſervation of this circumſtance, in which they all reſembled, and which ſoon ceaſed to be a diſtinction, becauſe it pervaded the other Lodges, that has induced me to expatiate more on this hiſtory of Free Maſonry in Germany, than

than may appear to my readers to be adequate to the importance of Free Maſonry in the general ſubject-matter of theſe pages. But I hope that it will appear in the courſe of my narration that I have not given it a greater value than it deſerves.

About this very time there was a great revolution of the public mind in Germany, and ſcepticiſm, infidelity, and irreligion, not only were prevalent in the minds and manners of the wealthy and luxurious, and of the profligate of lower ranks, but began to appear in the productions of the preſs. Some circumſtances, peculiar to Germany, occaſioned theſe declenſions from the former acquieſcence in the faith of their forefathers to become more uniform and remarkable than they would otherwiſe have been. The confeſſions of Germany are the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, (which they call Proteſtant,) and the Calviniſt (which they call Reformed). Theſe are profeſſed in many ſmall contiguous principalities, and there is hardly one of them in which all the three have not free exerciſe. The deſire of making proſelytes is natural to all ſerious profeſſors of a rational faith, and was frequently exerciſed. The Roman Catholics are ſuppoſed by us to be particularly zealous; and the Proteſtants (Lutherans and Calviniſts) were careful to oppoſe them by every kind of argument, among which thoſe of ridicule and reproach

proach were not ſpared. The Catholics accuſed them of infidelity reſpecting the fundamental doctrines of Chriſtianity which they profeſſed to believe, and even with reſpect to the doctrines of natural religion. This accuſation was long very ſlightly ſupported; but, of late, by better proofs. The ſpirit of free inquiry was the great boaſt of the Proteſtants, and their only ſupport againſt the Catholics, ſecuring them both in their religious and civil rights. It was therefore encouraged by their governments. It is not to be wondered at that it ſhould be indulged to exceſs, or improperly, even by ſerious men, liable to error, in their diſputes with the Catholics. In the progreſs of this conteſt, even their own Confeſſions did not eſcape criticiſm, and it was aſſerted that the Reformation which thoſe Confeſſions expreſs was not complete. Further Reformations were propoſed. The Scriptures, the foundation of our faith, were examined by clergymen of very different capacities, diſpoſitions, and views, till by explaining, correcting, allegoriſing, and otherwiſe twiſting the Bible, men's minds had hardly any thing leſt to reſt on as a doctrine of revealed religion. This encouraged others to go farther, and to ſay that revelation was a ſoleciſm, as plainly appeared by the irreconcileable differences among thoſe Enlighteners (ſo they were called) of the public, and that man had nothing to truſt to but

the dictates of natural reason. Another set of writers, proceeding from this as a point already settled, proscribed all religion whatever, and openly taught the doctrines of materialism and atheism. Most of these innovations were the work of Protestant divines, from the causes that I have mentioned. Teller, Semler, Eberhardt, Lessing, Bahrdt, Riem, and Shultz, had the chief hand in all these innovations. But no man contributed more than Nicholai, an eminent and learned bookseller in Berlin. He has been for many years the publisher of a periodical work, called the General German Library, (*Algemein deutsche Bibliothek,*) consisting of original dissertations, and reviews of the writings of others. The great merit of this work, on account of many learned dissertations which appear in it, has procured it much influence on that class of readers whose leisure or capacity did not allow them a more profound kind of reading. This is the bulk of readers in every country. Nicholai gives a decided preference to the writings of the Enlighteners, and in his reviews treats them with particular notice, makes the public fully acquainted with their works, and makes the most favourable comments; whereas the performances of their opponents, or more properly speaking, the defenders of the National Creeds, are neglected, omitted, or barely mentioned, or they are criticised with

every

every ſeverity of ridicule and reproach. He fell upon a very ſure method of rendering the orthodox writers diſagreeable to the public, by repreſenting them as the abetters of ſuperſtition, and as ſecret Jeſuits. He aſſerted, that the abolition of the Order of *Loyola* is only apparent. The Brethren ſtill retained their connection, and moſt part of their property, under the ſecret patronage of Catholic Princes. They are, therefore, in every corner, in every habit and character, working with unwearied zeal for the reſtoration of their empire. He raiſed a general alarm, and made a journey through Germany, hunting for Jeſuits, and for this purpoſe, became Free Maſon and Roſycrucian, being introduced by his friends Gedicke and Bieſter, clergymen, publiſhers of the *Berlin Monatſchrift*, and moſt zealous promoters of the new doctrines. This favour he has repaid at his return, by betraying the myſteries of the Lodges, and by much bitter ſatire. His journey was publiſhed in ſeveral volumes, and is full of frightful Jeſuitiſms. This man, as I have ſaid, found the greateſt ſucceſs in his method of ſlandering the defenders of Bible-Chriſtianity, by repreſenting them as concealed Jeſuits. But, not contented with open diſcuſſion, he long ago publiſhed a ſort of romance, called *Sebaldus Nothanker*, in which theſe divines are introduced under feigned names, and

made as ridiculous and deteſtable as poſſible. All this was a good trading job; for ſceptical and free-thinking writings have every where a good market; and Nicholai was not only reviewer, but publiſher, having preſſes in different cities of the Empire. The immenſe literary manufacture of Germany, far exceeding that of any nation of Europe, is carried on in a very particular way. The books go in ſheets to the great fairs of Leipſic and Frankfort, twice a-year. The bookſellers meet there, and ſee at one glance the ſtate of literature; and having ſpeculated and made their bargains, the books are inſtantly diſperſed through every part of the Empire, and appear at once in all quarters. Although every Principality has an officer for licenſing, it is impoſſible to prevent the currency of a performance, although it may be prohibited; for it is to be had by the carrier at three or four miles diſtance in another ſtate. By this mode of traffic, a plot may be formed, and actually has been formed, for giving any particular turn to the literature of the country. There is an excellent work printed at Bern by the author Heinzmann, a bookſeller, called, *Appeal to my Country, concerning a Combination of Writers, and Bookſellers, to rule the Literature of Germany, and form the Public Mind into a Contempt for the Religion and Civil Eſtabliſhments of the Empire.*

pire. It contains a hiſtorical account of the publications in every branch of literature for about thirty years. The author ſhows, in the moſt convincing manner, that the prodigious change from the former ſatisfaction of the Germans on thoſe ſubjects to their preſent diſcontent and attacks from every quarter, is neither a fair picture of the prevailing ſentiments, nor has been the ſimple operation of things, but the reſult of a combination of trading Infidels.

I have here ſomewhat anticipated, (for I hope to point out the ſources of this combination,) becauſe it helps to explain or illuſtrate the progreſs of infidelity and irreligion that I was ſpeaking of. It was much accelerated by another circumſtance. One *Baſedow*, a man of talents and learning, ſet up, in the Principality of Anhalt-Deſſau, a PHILANTHROPINE, or academy of general education, on a plan extremely different from thoſe of the Univerſities and Academies. By this appellation, the founder hoped to make parents expect that much attention would be paid to the morals of the pupils; and indeed the programs or advertiſements by which Baſedow announced his inſtitution to the public, deſcribed it as the profeſſed ſeminary of practical Ethics. Languages, ſciences, and the ornamental exerciſes, were here conſidered as mere acceſſories, and the great aim was to form the

young mind to the love of mankind and of virtue, by a plan of moral education which was very ſpecious and unexceptionable. But there was a circumſtance which greatly obſtructed the wide proſpects of the founder. How were the religious opinions of the youth to be cared for? Catholics, Lutherans, and Calviniſts, were almoſt equally numerous in the adjoining Principalities; and the excluſion of any two of theſe communions would prodigiouſly limit the propoſed uſefulneſs of the inſtitution. Baſedow was a man of talents, a good ſcholar, and a perſuaſive writer. He framed a ſet of rules, by which the education ſhould be conducted, and which, he thought, ſhould make every parent eaſy; and the plan is very judicious and manly. But none came but Lutherans. His zeal and intereſt in the thing made him endeavour to intereſt others; and he found this no hard matter. The people of condition, and all ſenſible men, ſaw that it would be a very great advantage to the place, could they induce men to ſend their children from all the neighbouring ſtates. What we wiſh, we readily believe to be the truth; and Baſedow's plan and reaſonings appeared complete, and had the ſupport of all claſſes of men. The moderate Calviniſts, after ſome time, were not averſe from them, and the literary manufacture of Germany was ſoon very buſy in making pamphlets, defending,

ing, improving, attacking, and reprobating the plans. Innumerable were the projects for moderating the differences between the three Christian communions of Germany, and making it possible for the members of them all, not only to live amicably among each other, and to worship God in the same church, but even to communicate together. This attempt naturally gave rise to much speculation and refinement; and the proposals for amendment of the formulas and the instructions from the pulpit were prosecuted with so much keenness, that the ground-work, Christianity, was refined and refined, till it vanished altogether, leaving Deism, or Natural, or, as it was called, Philosophical Religion, in its place. I am not much mistaken as to historical fact, when I say, that the astonishing change in religious doctrine which has taken place in Protestant Germany within these last thirty years was chiefly occasioned by this scheme of Basedow's. The predisposing causes existed, indeed, and were general and powerful, and the disorder had already broken out. But this specious and enticing object first gave a title to Protestant clergymen to put to their hand without risk of being censured.

Basedow corrected, and corrected again, but not one Catholic came to the Philanthropine. He seems to have thought that the best plan would

be, to baniſh all poſitive religion whatever, and that he would then be ſure of Catholic ſcholars. Cardinal Dubois was ſo far right with reſpect to the firſt Catholic pupil of the church. He had recommended a man of his own ſtamp to Louis XIV. to fill ſome important office. The monarch was aſtoniſhed, and told the Cardinal, that "that "would never do, for the man was a Janſeniſt; "*Eh! que non, Sire,*" ſaid the Cardinal, "*il* "*n'eſt qu' Athée;*" all was ſafe, and the man got the priory. But though all was in vain, Baſedow's Philanthropine at Deſſau got a high character. He publiſhed many volumes on education that have much merit.

It were well had this been all. But moſt unfortunately, though moſt naturally, writers of looſe moral principles and of wicked hearts were encouraged by the impunity which the ſceptical writers experienced, and ventured to publiſh things of the vileſt tendency, inflaming the paſſions and juſtifying licentious manners. Theſe maxims are congenial with irreligion and Atheiſm, and the books found a quick market. It was chiefly in the Pruſſian States that this went on. The late King was, to ſay the beſt of him, a naturaliſt, and, holding this life for his all, gave full liberty to his ſubjects to write what they pleaſed, provided they did not touch on ſtate matters. He declared,

clared, however, to a miniſter of his court, long before his death, that "he was extremely ſorry "that his indifference had produced ſuch effects; "that he was ſenſible it had greatly contributed "to hurt the peace and mutual good treatment "of his ſubjects;" and he ſaid, "that he would "willingly give up the glory of his beſt-fought "battle, to have the ſatisfaction of leaving his "people in the ſame ſtate of peace and ſatisfac-"tion with their religious eſtabliſhments, that he "found them in at his acceſſion to the throne." His ſucceſſor Frederick William found that things had gone much too far, and determined to ſupport the church-eſtabliſhment in the moſt peremptory manner; but at the ſame time to allow perfect freedom of thinking and converſing to the profeſſors of every Chriſtian faith, provided it was enjoyed without diſturbing the general peace, or any encroachment on the rights of thoſe already ſupported by law. He publiſhed an edict to this effect, which is really a model worthy of imitation in every country. This was the epoch of a ſtrange revolution. It was attacked from all hands, and criticiſms, ſatires, ſlanders, threatenings, poured in from every quarter. The independency of the neighbouring ſtates, and the monarch's not being a great favourite among ſeveral of his neighbours, permitted the publication of thoſe pieces in the adjoining principalities, and it was impoſſible

impoſſible to prevent their circulation even in the Pruſſian States. His edict was called an unjuſtifiable tyranny over the conſciences of men; the dogmas ſupported by it were termed abſurd ſuperſtitions; the King's private character, and his opinions in religious matters, were treated with little reverence, nay, were ridiculed and ſcandalouſly abuſed. This field of diſcuſſion being thus thrown open, the writers did not confine themſelves to religious matters. After flatly denying that the prince of any country had the ſmalleſt right to preſcribe, or even direct the faith of his ſubjects, they extended their diſcuſſions to the rights of princes in general; and now they fairly opened their trenches, and made an attack in form on the conſtitutions of the German confederacy, and, after the uſual approaches, they ſet up the ſtandard of univerſal citizenſhip on the very ridge of the glacis, and ſummoned the fort to ſurrender. The moſt daring of theſe attacks was a collection of anonymous letters on the conſtitution of the Pruſſian States. It was printed (or ſaid to be ſo) at Utrecht; but by comparing the faults of ſome types with ſome books printed in Berlin, it was ſuppoſed by all to be the production of one of Nicholai's preſſes. It was thought to be the compoſition of Mirabeau. It is certain that he wrote a French tranſlation, with a preface and notes, more impudent than the

work itſelf. The monarch is declared to be a tyrant; the people are addreſſed as a parcel of tame wretches crouching under oppreſſion. The people of Sileſia are repreſented as ſtill in a worſe condition, and are repeatedly called to rouſe themſelves, and to riſe up and aſſert their rights. The King is told, that there is a combination of philoſophers (*conjuration*) who are leagued together in defence of truth and reaſon, and which no power can withſtand; that they are to be found in every country, and are connected by mutual and ſolemn engagement, and will put in practice every mean of attack. Enlightening, inſtruction, was the general cry among the writers. The triumph of reaſon over error, the overthrow of ſuperſtition and ſlaviſh fear, freedom from religious and political prejudices, and the eſtabliſhment of liberty and equality, the natural and unalienable rights of man, were the topics of general declamation; and it was openly maintained, that ſecret ſocieties, where the communication of ſentiment ſhould be free from every reſtraint, was the moſt effectual means for inſtructing and enlightening the world.

And thus it appears, that Germany has experienced the ſame gradual progreſs, from Religion to Atheiſm, from decency to diſſoluteneſs, and from loyalty to rebellion, which has had its courſe in France. And I muſt now add, that this progreſs has

has been effected in the ſame manner, and by the ſame means; and that one of the chief means of ſeduction has been the Lodges of the Free Maſons. The French, along with their numerous chevaleries, and ſtars, and ribands, had brought in the cuſtom of haranguing in the Lodges, and as human nature has a conſiderable uniformity every where, the ſame topics became favourite ſubjects of declamation that had tickled the ear in France; there were the ſame corruptions of ſentiments and manners among the luxurious or profligate, and the ſame incitements to the utterance of theſe ſentiments, wherever it could be done with ſafety; and I may ſay, that the zealots in all theſe tracts of freethinking were more ſerious, more grave, and fanatical. Theſe are not aſſertions *a priori*. I can produce proofs. There was a Baron Knigge reſiding at that time in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, of whom I ſhall afterwards have occaſion frequently to ſpeak. This man was an enthuſiaſt in Maſonry from his youth, and had run through every poſſible degree of it. He was diſſatisfied with them all, and particularly with the frivolity of the French chivalry; but he ſtill believed that Maſonry contained invaluable ſecrets. He imagined that he ſaw a glimpſe of them in the coſmo-political and ſceptical diſcourſes in their Lodges; he ſat down to meditate on theſe, and

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ſoon collected his thoughts, and found that thoſe French orators were right without knowing it; and that Maſonry was pure natural religion and univerſal citizenſhip, and that this was alſo true Chriſtianity. In this faith he immediately began his career of Brotherly love, and publiſhed three volumes of ſermons; the firſt and third publiſhed at Frankfort, and the ſecond at Heidelberg, but without his name. He publiſhed alſo a popular ſyſtem of religion. In all theſe publications, of which there are extracts in the *Religions Begebenheiten*, Chriſtianity is conſidered as a mere allegory, or a Maſonic type of natural religion; the moral duties are ſpun into the common-place declamations of univerſal benevolence; and the attention is continually directed to the abſurdities and horrors of ſuperſtition, the ſufferings of the poor, the tyranny and oppreſſion of the great, the tricks of the prieſts, and the indolent ſimplicity and patience of the laity and of the common people. The happineſs of the patriarchal life, and ſweets of univerſal equality and freedom, are the burden of every paragraph; and the general tenor of the whole is to make men diſcontented with their condition of civil ſubordination, and the reſtraints of revealed religion.

All the proceedings of Knigge in the Maſonic ſchiſms ſhow that he was a zealous apoſtle of coſmo-politiſm, and that he was continually deal-

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ing with people in the Lodges who were aſſociated with him in propagating thoſe notions among the Brethren; ſo that we are certain that ſuch converſations were common in the German Lodges.

When the reader conſiders all theſe circumſtances, he will abate of that ſurpriſe which naturally affects a Briton, when he reads accounts of conventions for diſcuſſing and fixing the dogmatic tenets of Free Maſonry. The perfect freedom, civil and religious, which we enjoy in this happy country, being familiar to every man, we indulge it with calmneſs and moderation, and ſecret aſſemblies hardly differ from the common meetings of friends and neighbours. We do not forget the expediency of civil ſubordination, and of thoſe diſtinctions which ariſe from ſecure poſſeſſion of our rights, and the gradual accumulation of the comforts of life in the families of the ſober and induſtrious. Theſe have, by prudence and a reſpectable œconomy, preſerved the acquiſitions of their anceſtors. Every man feels in his own breaſt the ſtrong call of nature to procure for himſelf and his children, by every honeſt and commendable exertion, the means of public conſideration and reſpect. No man is ſo totally without ſpirit, as not to think the better of his condition when he is come of creditable parents, and has creditable connections; and without

without thinking that he is in any reſpect generous, he preſumes that others have the ſame ſentiments, and therefore allows the moderate expreſſion of them, without thinking it inſolence or haughtineſs. All theſe things are familiar, are not thought of, and we enjoy them as we enjoy ordinary health, without perceiving it. But in the ſame manner as a young man who has been long confined by ſickneſs, exults in returning health, and is apt to riot in the enjoyment of what he ſo diſtinctly feels; ſo thoſe who are under continual check in open ſociety, feel this emancipation in thoſe hidden aſſemblies, and indulge with eagerneſs in the expreſſion of ſentiments which in public they muſt ſmother within their own breaſt. Such meetings, therefore, have a zeſt that is very alluring, and they are frequented with avidity. There is no country in Europe where this kind of enjoyment is ſo poignant as in Germany. Very inſignificant principalities have the ſame rank in the General Federation with very extenſive dominions. The internal conſtitution of each petty ſtate being modelled in nearly the ſame manner, the official honours of their little courts become ludicrous and even farcical. The Geheim Hofrath, the Hofmareſchal, and all the Kammerhers of a Prince, whoſe dominions do not equal the eſtates of many Engliſh Squires, cauſe the whole to appear like

like the play of children, and muſt give frequent occaſion for diſcontent and ridicule. Maſon Lodges even keep this alive. The fraternal equality profeſſed in them is very flattering to thoſe who have not ſucceeded in the ſcramble for civil diſtinctions. Such perſons become the moſt zealous Maſons, and generally obtain the active offices in the Lodges, and have an opportunity of treating with authority perſons whom in public ſociety they muſt look up to with ſome reſpect.

Theſe conſiderations account, in ſome meaſure, for the importance which Free Maſonry has acquired in Germany. For a long while the hopes of learning ſome wonderful ſecret made a German Baron think nothing of long and expenſive journies in queſt of ſome new degree. Of late, the coſmo-political doctrines encouraged and propagated in the Lodges, and ſome hopes of producing a Revolution in ſociety, by which men of talents ſhould obtain the management of public affairs, ſeem to be the cauſe of all the zeal with which the order is ſtill cheriſhed and promoted. In a periodical work, publiſhed at Neuwied, called *Algemein Zeitung der Freymaurerey*, we have the liſt of the Lodges in 1782, with the names of the Office-bearers. Four-fifths of theſe are clergymen, profeſſors, perſons having offices in the common-law courts, men of

letters

letters by trade, ſuch as reviewers and journaliſts, and other pamphleteers; a claſs of men, who generally think that they have not attained that rank in ſociety to which their talents entitle them, and imagine that they could diſcharge the important offices of the ſtate with reputation to themſelves and advantage to the public.

The miſerable uncertainty and inſtability of the Maſonic faith, which I deſcribed above, was not altogether the effect of mere chance, but had been greatly accelerated by the machinations of Baron Knigge, and ſome other Coſmo-political Brethren whom he had called to his aſſiſtance. Knigge had now formed a ſcheme for uniting the whole Fraternity, for the purpoſe of promoting his Utopian plan of univerſal benevolence in a ſtate of liberty and equality. He hoped to do this more readily by completing their embarraſſment, and ſhowing each ſyſtem how infirm its foundation was, and how little chance it had of obtaining a general adherence. The *Stricten Obſervanz* had now completely loſt its credit, by which it had hoped to get the better of all the reſt. Knigge therefore propoſed a plan to the Lodges of Frankfort and Wetzlar, by which all the ſyſtems might, in ſome meaſure, be united, or at leaſt be brought to a ſtate of mutual forbearance and intercourſe. He propoſed that the Engliſh ſyſtem ſhould be taken for the ground-

work, and to receive all and only thoſe who had taken the three ſymbolical degrees, as they were now generally called. After thus guarding this general point of faith, he propoſed to allow the validity of every degree or rank which ſhould be received in any Lodge, or be made the character of any particular ſyſtem. Theſe Lodges having ſecured the adherence of ſeveral others, brought about a general convention at Willemſbad in Hainault, where every different ſyſtem ſhould communicate its peculiar tenets. It was then hoped, that after an examination of them all, a conſtitution might be formed, which ſhould comprehend every thing that was moſt worthy of ſelection, and therefore be far better than the accommodating ſyſtem already deſcribed. By this he hoped to get his favourite ſcheme introduced into the whole Order, and Free Maſons made zealous Citizens of the World. I believe he was ſincere in theſe intentions, and did not wiſh to diſturb the public peace. The convention was accordingly held, and laſted a long while, the deputies conſulting about the frivolities of Maſonry, with all the ſerioufneſs of ſtate ambaſſadors. But there was great ſhyneſs in their communications; and Knigge was making but ſmall progreſs in his plan, when he met with another Maſon, the Marquis of Conſtanza, who in an inſtant converted him, and changed all his meaſures,

meaſures, by ſhowing him that he (Knigge) was only doing by halves what was already accompliſhed by another Society, which had carried it to its full extent. They immediately ſet about undoing what he had been occupied with, and heightened as much as they could the diſſentions already ſufficiently great, and, in the mean time, got the Lodges of Frankfort and Wetzlar, and ſeveral others, to unite, and pick out the beſt of the things they had obtained by the communications from the other ſyſtems, and they formed a plan of what they called, the *Eclectic or Syncritic Maſonry of the United Lodges* of Germany. They compoſed a conſtitution, ritual, and catechiſm, which has merit, and is indeed the completeſt body of Free Maſonry that we have.

Such was the ſtate of this celebrated and myſterious Fraternity in Germany in 1776. The ſpirit of innovation had ſeized all the Brethren. No man could give a tolerable account of the origin, hiſtory, or object of the Order, and it appeared to all as a loſt or forgotten myſtery. The ſymbols ſeemed to be equally ſuſceptible of every interpretation, and none of theſe ſeemed entitled to any decided preference.

CHAP. II.

The Illuminati.

I HAVE now arrived at what I ſhould call the great epoch of Coſmo-politiſm, the ſcheme communicated to Baron Knigge by the *Marcheſe di Conſtanza*. This obliges me to mention a remarkable Lodge of the Eclectic Maſonry, erected at Munich in Bavaria in 1775, under the worſhipful Maſter, Profeſſor Baader. It was called *The Lodge Theodore of Good Counſel*. It had its conſtitutional patent from the Royal York at Berlin, but had formed a particular ſyſtem of its own, by inſtructions from the *Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaiſants* at Lyons, with which it kept up a correſpondence. This reſpect to the Lodge at Lyons had ariſen from the preponderance acquired in general by the French party in the convention at Willemſbad. The deputies of the Roſaic Lodges, as well as the remains of the Templars, and *Stricten Obſervanz*, all looking

looking up to this as the mother Lodge of what they called the *Grand Orient de la France*, conſiſting (in 1782) of 266 improved Lodges, united under the *D. de Chartres*. Accordingly the Lodge at Lyons ſent Mr. Wilermooz as deputy to this convention at Willemſbad. Refining gradually on the ſimple Britiſh Maſonry, the Lodge had formed a ſyſtem of practical morality, which it aſſerted to be the aim of genuine Maſonry, ſaying, that a true maſon, and a man of upright heart and active virtue, are ſynonimous characters, and that the great aim of Free Maſonry is to promote the happineſs of mankind by every mean in our power. In purſuance of theſe principles, the Lodge Theodore profeſſedly occupied itſelf with œconomical, ſtatiſtical, and political matters, and not only publiſhed from time to time diſcourſes on ſuch ſubjects by the Brother Orator, but the Members conſidered themſelves as in duty bound to propagate and inculcate the ſame doctrines out of doors.

Of the zealous members of the Lodge Theodore the moſt conſpicuous was Dr. Adam Weiſhaupt, Profeſſor of Canon Law in the univerſity of Ingolſtadt. This perſon had been educated among the Jeſuits; but the abolition of their order made him change his views, and from being their pupil, he became their moſt bitter enemy. He had

acquired a high reputation in his profeſſion, and was attended not only by thoſe intended for the practice in the law-courts, but alſo by young gentlemen at large in their courſe of general education; and he brought numbers from the neighbouring ſtates to this univerſity, and gave a *ton* to the ſtudies of the place. He embraced with great keenneſs this opportunity of ſpreading the favourite doctrines of the Lodge, and his auditory became the ſeminary of Coſmo-politiſm. The engaging pictures of the poſſible felicity of a ſociety where every office is held by a man of talents and virtue, and where every talent is ſet in a place fitted for its exertion, forcibly catches the generous and unſuſpecting minds of youth, and in a Roman Catholic ſtate, far advanced in the habits of groſs ſuperſtition (a character given to Bavaria by its neighbours) and abounding in monks and idle dignitaries, the opportunities muſt be frequent for obſerving the inconſiderate dominion of the clergy, and the abject and indolent ſubmiſſion of the laity. Accordingly Profeſſor Weiſhaupt ſays, in his Apology for Illuminatiſm, that Deiſm, Infidelity, and Atheiſm are more prevalent in Bavaria than in any country he was acquainted with. Diſcourſes, therefore, in which the abſurdity and horrors of ſuperſtition and ſpiritual tyranny were ſtrongly painted, could not fail of making a deep impreſſion.

impreſſion. And during this ſtate of the minds of the auditory the tranſition to general infidelity and irreligion is ſo eaſy, and ſo inviting to ſanguine youth, prompted perhaps by a latent wiſh that the reſtraints which religion impoſes on the expectants of a future ſtate might be found, on enquiry, to be nothing but groundleſs terrors, that I imagine it requires the moſt anxious care of the public teacher to keep the minds of his audience impreſſed with the reality and importance of the great truths of religion, while he frees them from the ſhackles of blind and abſurd ſuperſtition. I fear that this celebrated inſtructor had none of this anxiety, but was ſatisfied with his great ſucceſs in the laſt part of this taſk, the emancipation of his young hearers from the terrors of ſuperſtition. I ſuppoſe alſo that this was the more agreeable to him, as it procured him the triumph over the Jeſuits, with whom he had long ſtruggled for the direction of the univerſity.

This was in 1777. Weiſhaupt had long been ſcheming the eſtabliſhment of an Aſſociation or Order, which, in time, ſhould govern the world. In his firſt fervour and high expectations, he hinted to ſeveral Ex-Jeſuits the probability of their recovering, under a new name, the influence which they formerly poſſeſſed, and of being again of great ſervice to ſociety, by directing the education of youth of diſtinction, now emancipated from

all civil and religious prejudices. He prevailed on ſome to join him, but they all retracted but two. After this diſappointment Weiſhaupt became the implacable enemy of the Jeſuits; and his ſanguine temper made him frequently lay himſelf open to their piercing eye, and drew on him their keeneſt reſentment, and at laſt made him the victim of their enmity.

The Lodge Theodore was the place where the above-mentioned doctrines were moſt zealouſly propagated. But Weiſhaupt's emiſſaries had already procured the adherence of many other Lodges; and the Eclectic Maſonry had been brought into vogue chiefly by their exertions at the Willemſbad convention. The Lodge Theodore was perhaps leſs guarded in its proceedings, for it became remarkable for the very bold ſentiments in politics and religion which were frequently uttered in their harangues; and its members were noted for their zeal in making proſelytes. Many bitter paſquinades, ſatires, and other offenſive pamphlets were in ſecret circulation, and even larger works of very dangerous tendency, and ſeveral of them were traced to that Lodge. The Elector often expreſſed his diſapprobation of ſuch proceedings, and ſent them kind meſſages, deſiring them to be careful not to diſturb the peace of the country, and particularly to recollect the ſolemn declaration made to every entrant into

into the Fraternity of Free Maſons, "That no "ſubject of religion or politics ſhall ever be "touched on in the Lodge;" a declaration which alone could have procured his permiſſion of any ſecret aſſembly whatever, and on the ſincerity and honour of which he had reckoned when he gave his ſanction to their eſtabliſhment. But repeated accounts of the ſame kind increaſed the alarms, and the Elector ordered a judicial enquiry into the proceedings of the Lodge Theodore.

It was then diſcovered that this and ſeveral aſſociated Lodges were the nurſery or preparation ſchool for another Order of Maſons, who called themſelves the ILLUMINATED, and that the expreſs aim of this Order was to aboliſh Chriſtianity, and overturn all civil government. But the reſult of the enquiry was very imperfect and unſatisfactory. No Illuminati were to be found. They were unknown in the Lodge. Some of the members occaſionally heard of certain candidates for illumination called MINERVALS, who were ſometimes ſeen among them. But whether theſe had been admitted, or who received them, was known only to themſelves. Some of theſe were examined in private by the Elector himſelf. They ſaid that they were bound by honour to ſecrecy: But they aſſured the Elector, on their honour, that the aim of the Order was in the higheſt degree praiſe-worthy, and uſeful both to church

church and ſtate. But this could not allay the anxiety of the profane public; and it was repeatedly ſtated to the Elector, that members of the Lodge Theodore had unguardedly ſpoken of this Order as one that in time muſt rule the world. He therefore iſſued an order forbidding, during his pleaſure, all ſecret aſſemblies, and ſhutting up the Maſon Lodges. It was not meant to be rigorouſly enforced, but was intended as a trial of the deference of theſe Aſſociations for civil authority. The Lodge Theodore diſtinguiſhed itſelf by pointed oppoſition, continuing its meetings; and the members, out of doors, openly reprobated the prohibition as an abſurd and unjuſtifiable tyranny.

In the beginning of 1783, four profeſſors of the Marianen Academy, founded by the widow of the late Elector, viz. Utſchneider, Coſſandey, Renner, and Grunberger, with two others, were ſummoned before the Court of Enquiry, and queſtioned, on their allegiance, reſpecting the Order of the Illuminati. They acknowledged that they belonged to it, and when more cloſely examined, they related ſeveral circumſtances of its conſtitution and principles. Their declarations were immediately publiſhed, and were very unfavourable. The Order was ſaid to abjure Chriſtianity, and to refuſe admiſſion into the higher degrees to all who adhered to any of the three confeſſions. Senſual pleaſures were reſtored to the rank

rank they held in the Epicurean philoſophy. Self-murder was juſtified on Stoical principles. In the Lodges death was declared an eternal ſleep; patriotiſm and loyalty were called narrow-minded prejudices, and incompatible with univerſal benevolence; continual declamations were made on liberty and equality as the unalienable rights of man. The baneful influence of accumulated property was declared an inſurmountable obſtacle to the happineſs of any nation whoſe chief laws were framed for its protection and increaſe. Nothing was ſo frequently diſcourſed of as the propriety of employing, for a good purpoſe, the means which the wicked employed for evil purpoſes; and it was taught, that the preponderancy of good in the ultimate reſult conſecrated every mean employed; and that wiſdom and virtue conſiſted in properly determining this balance. This appeared big with danger, becauſe it ſeemed evident that nothing would be ſcrupled at, if it could be made appear that the Order would derive advantage from it, becauſe the great object of the Order was held as ſuperior to every conſideration. They concluded by ſaying that the method of education made them all ſpies on each other and on all around them. But all this was denied by the Illuminati. Some of theſe tenets were ſaid to be abſolutely falſe; and the reſt were ſaid to be miſtakes. The apoſtate profeſſors had acknowledged their ignorance

ance of many things. Two of them were only Minervals, another was an Illuminatus of the loweſt claſs, and the fourth was but one ſtep farther advanced. Pamphlets appeared on both ſides, with very little effect. The Elector called before him one of the ſuperiors, a young nobleman, who denied thoſe injurious charges, and ſaid that they were ready to lay before his Highneſs their whole archives and all conſtitutional papers.

Notwithſtanding all this, the government had received ſuch an impreſſion of the dangerous tendency of the Order, that the Elector iſſued another edict, forbidding all hidden aſſemblies; and a third, expreſsly aboliſhing the Order of Illuminati. It was followed by a ſearch after their papers. The Lodge Theodore was immediately ſearched, but none were to be found. They ſaid now that they burnt them all, as of no uſe, ſince that Order was at an end.

It was now diſcovered, that Weiſhaupt was the head and founder of the Order. He was deprived of his Profeſſor's chair, and baniſhed from the Bavarian States; but with a penſion of 800 florins, which he refuſed. He went to Regenſburg, on the confines of Switzerland. Two Italians, the Marquis Conſtanza and Marquis Savioli, were alſo baniſhed, with equal penſions, (about L. 40,) which they accepted. One Zwack, a counſellor, holding ſome law-office, was alſo baniſhed.

baniſhed. Others were impriſoned for ſome time. Weiſhaupt went afterwards into the ſervice of the D. of Saxe Gotha, a perſon of a romantic turn of mind, and whom we ſhall again meet with. Zwack went into the ſervice of the Pr. de Salms, who ſoon after had ſo great a hand in the diſturbances in Holland.

By deſtroying the papers, all opportunity was loſt for authenticating the innocence and uſefulneſs of the Order. After much altercation and paper war, Weiſhaupt, now ſafe in Regenſburg, publiſhed an account of the Order, namely, the account which was given to every *Novice* in a diſcourſe read at his reception. To this were added the ſtatutes and the rules of proceeding, as far as the degree of *Illuminatus Minor*, included. This account he affirmed to be conformable to the real practice of the Order. But this publication did by no means ſatisfy the public mind. It differed exceedingly from the accounts given by the four profeſſors. It made no mention of the higher degrees, which had been moſt blamed by them. Beſides, it was alleged, that it was all a fiction, written in order to lull the ſuſpicions which had been raiſed (and this was found to be the caſe, except in reſpect of the very loweſt degree). The real conſtitution was brought to light by degrees, and ſhall be laid before the reader, in the order in which it was gradually diſcovered,

diſcovered, that we may the better judge of things not fully known by the conduct of the leaders during the detection. The firſt account given by Weiſhaupt is correct, as far as I ſhall make uſe of it, and ſhows clearly the methods that were taken to recommend the Order to ſtrangers.

The Order of ILLUMINATI appears as an accessory to Free Maſonry. It is in the Lodges of Free Maſons that the Minervals are found, and there they are prepared for Illumination. They muſt have previouſly obtained the three Engliſh degrees. The founder ſays more. He ſays that his doctrines are the only true Free Maſonry. He was the chief promoter of the *Eclectic Syſtem*. This he urged as the beſt method for getting information of all the explanations which have been given of the Maſonic Myſteries. He was alſo a *Strict Obſervanz*, and an adept Roſycrucian. The reſult of all his knowledge is worthy of particular remark, and ſhall therefore be given at large.

"I declare," ſays he, "and I challenge all "mankind to contradict my declaration, that no "man can give any account of the Order of "Free Maſonry, of its origin, of its hiſtory, of "its object, nor any explanation of its myſteries "and ſymbols, which does not leave the mind "in

" in total uncertainty on all theſe points. Every
" man is entitled, therefore, to give any ex-
" planation of the ſymbols, and any ſyſtem of
" the doctrines, that he can render palatable.
" Hence have ſprung up that variety of ſyſtems
" which for twenty years have divided the Or-
" der. The ſimple tale of the Engliſh, and the
" fifty degrees of the French, and the Knights
" of Baron Hunde, are equally authentic, and
" have equally had the ſupport of intelligent
" and zealous Brethren. Theſe ſyſtems are in
" fact but one. They have all ſprung from the
" Blue Lodge of Three degrees; take theſe for
" their ſtandard, and found on theſe all the
" improvements by which each ſyſtem is after-
" wards ſuited to the particular object which it
" keeps in view. There is no man, nor ſyſtem,
" in the world, which can ſhow by undoubted
" ſucceſſion that it ſhould ſtand at the head of
" the Order. Our ignorance in this particular
" frets me. Do but conſider our ſhort hiſtory
" of 120 years.—Who will ſhow me the Mother
" Lodge? Thoſe of London we have diſcover-
" ed to be ſelf-erected in 1716. Aſk for their
" archives. They tell you they were burnt.
" They have nothing but the wretched ſophiſti-
" cations of the Engliſhman Anderſon, and the
" Frenchman Deſaguilliers. Where is the Lodge
" of York, which pretends to the priority, with
" their

" their King Bouden, and the archives that he
" brought from the Eaſt? Theſe too are all
" burnt. What is the Chapter of Old Aber-
" deen, and its Holy Clericate? Did we not
" find it unknown, and the Maſon Lodges there
" the moſt ignorant of all the ignorant, gaping
" for inſtruction from our deputies? Did we
" not find the ſame thing at London? and have
" not their miſſionaries been among us, prying
" into our myſteries, and eager to learn from
" us what is true Free Maſonry? It is in vain,
" therefore, to appeal to judges; they are no
" where to be found; all claim for themſelves
" the ſceptre of the Order; all indeed are on
" an equal footing. They obtained followers,
" not from their authenticity, but from their
" conduciveneſs to the end which they propoſed,
" and from the importance of that end. It is
" by this ſcale that we muſt meaſure the mad
" and wicked explanations of the Roſycru-
" cians, the Exorciſts, and Cabaliſts. Theſe
" are rejected by all good Maſons, becauſe in-
" compatible with ſocial happineſs. Only ſuch
" ſyſtems as promote this are retained. But
" alas, they are all ſadly deficient, becauſe they
" leave us under the dominion of political and
" religious prejudices; and they are as ineffi-
" cient as the ſleepy doſe of an ordinary ſer-
" mon.

" But

" But I have contrived an explanation which " has every advantage; is inviting to Chriſtians " of every communion; gradually frees them " from all religious prejudices; cultivates the " ſocial virtues; and animates them by a great, " a feaſible, and *ſpeedy* proſpect of univerſal hap- " pineſs, in a ſtate of liberty and moral equality, " freed from the obſtacles which ſubordination, " rank, and riches, continually throw in our " way. My explanation is accurate, and com- " plete, my means are effectual, and irreſiſtible. " Our ſecret Aſſociation works in a way that no- " thing can withſtand, *and man ſhall ſoon be free* " *and happy.*

" This is the great object held out by this Aſ- " ſociation, and the means of attaining it is Il- " lumination, enlightening the underſtanding by " the ſun of reaſon, which will diſpel the clouds " of ſuperſtition and of prejudice. The profi- " cients in this Order are therefore juſtly named " the Illuminated. And of all Illumination which " human reaſon can give, none is comparable to " the diſcovery of what we are, our nature, our " obligations, what happineſs we are capable of, " and what are the means of attaining it. In " compariſon with this, the moſt brilliant ſciences " are but amuſements for the idle and luxu- " rious. To fit man by Illumination for active " virtue, to engage him to it by the ſtrongeſt " motives, to render the attainment of it eaſy

" and certain, by finding employment for every " talent, and by placing every talent in its pro- " per ſphere of action, ſo that all, without feeling " any extraordinary effort, and in conjunction " with and completion of ordinary buſineſs, ſhall " urge forward, with united powers, the general " taſk. This indeed will be an employment, " ſuited to noble natures, grand in its views, " and delightful in its exerciſe.

" And what is this general object? THE HAP- " PINESS OF THE HUMAN RACE. Is it not diſ- " treſſing to a generous mind, after contemplat- " ing what human nature is capable of, to ſee " how little we enjoy? When we look at this " goodly world, and ſee that every man *may* be " happy, but that the happineſs of one depends " on the conduct of another; when we ſee the " wicked ſo powerful and the good ſo weak; " and that it is in vain to ſtrive ſingly and alone, " againſt the general current of vice and op- " preſſion; the wiſh naturally ariſes in the mind, " that it were poſſible to form a durable combin- " ation of the moſt worthy perſons, who ſhould " work together in removing the obſtacles to " human happineſs, become terrible to the wick- " ed, and give their aid to all the good without " diſtinction, and ſhould, by the moſt powerful " means, firſt fetter, and by fettering, leſſen " vice; means which at the ſame time ſhould pro " mote virtue, by rendering the inclination to

" rectitude hitherto ſo feeble, more powerful and " engaging. Would not ſuch an aſſociation be " a bleſſing to the world?

" But where are the proper perſons, the good, " the generous, and the accompliſhed, to be " found; and how, and by what ſtrong motives, " are they to be induced to engage in a taſk ſo " vaſt, ſo inceſſant, ſo difficult, and ſo laborious? " This Aſſociation muſt be gradual. There *are* " ſome ſuch perſons to be found in every ſocie- " ty. Such noble minds will be engaged by the " heart-warming object. The firſt taſk of the As- " ſociation muſt therefore be to form the young " members. As theſe multiply and advance, they " become the apoſtles of beneficence, and the " work is now on foot, and advances with a ſpeed " encreaſing every day. The ſlighteſt obſerva- " tion ſhows that nothing will ſo much contri- " bute to increaſe the zeal of the members as ſe- " cret union. We ſee with what keenneſs and " zeal the frivolous buſineſs of Free Maſonry " is conducted, by perſons knit together by the " ſecrecy of their union. It is needleſs to en- " quire into the cauſes of this zeal which ſecrecy " produces. It is an univerſal fact, confirmed " by the hiſtory of every age. Let this circum- " ſtance of our conſtitution therefore be directed " to this noble purpoſe, and then all the objec- " tions urged againſt it by jealous tyranny and " affrighted ſuperſtition will vaniſh. The order

" will thus work silently, and securely; and " though the generous benefactors of the human " race are thus deprived of the applause of the " world, they have the noble pleasure of seeing " their work prosper in their hands."

Such is the aim, and such are the hopes of the Order of the Illuminated. Let us now see how these were to be accomplished. We cannot judge with perfect certainty of this, because the account given of the constitution of the Order by its founder includes only the lowest degree, and even this is liable to great suspicion. The accounts given by the four Professors, even of this part of the Order, make a very different impression on the mind, although they differ only in a few particulars.

The only ostensible members of the Order were the Minervals. They were to be found only in the Lodges of Free Masons. A candidate for admission must make his wish known to some Minerval; he reports it to a Superior, who, by a channel to be explained presently, intimates it to the Council. No notice is farther taken of it for some time. The candidate is carefully observed in silence, and if thought unfit for the Order, no notice is taken of his solicitation. But if otherwise, the candidate receives privately an invitation to a conference. Here he meets with a person unknown to him, and, previous to all further conference, he is required to peruse and to sign the following oath:

" I, N.

" I, N. N. hereby bind myſelf, by mine honour " and good name, forſwearing all mental reſer- " vation, never to reveal, by hint, word, writ- " ing, or in any manner whatever, even to my " moſt truſted friend, any thing that ſhall now " be ſaid or done to me reſpecting my wiſhed- " for reception, and this whether my reception " ſhall follow or not, I being previouſly aſſured " that it ſhall contain nothing contrary to reli- " gion, the ſtate, nor good manners. I pro- " miſe, that I ſhall make no intelligible extract " from any papers which ſhall be ſhewn me " now or during my noviciate. All this I ſwear, " as I am, and as I hope to continue, a Man of " Honour."

The urbanity of this proteſtation muſt agreeably impreſs the mind of a perſon who recollects the dreadful imprecations which he made at his reception into the different ranks of Free Maſonry. The candidate is then introduced to an *Illuminatus Dirigens*, whom perhaps he knows, and is told that this perſon is to be his future inſtructor. There is now preſented to the candidate, what they call a table, in which he writes his name, place of birth, age, rank, place of reſidence, profeſſion, and favourite ſtudies. He is then made to read ſeveral articles of this table. It contains, 1*ſt*, a very conciſe account of the Order, its connection with Free Maſonry, and its great object, the promoting the happineſs of mankind by

means of inſtruction and confirmation in virtuous principles. 2*d*, Several queſtions relative to the Order. Among theſe are, "What advantages "he hopes to derive from being a member? "What he moſt particularly wiſhes to learn? "What delicate queſtions relative to the life, the "proſpects, the duties of man, as an individual, "and as a citizen, he wiſhes to have particularly "diſcuſſed to him? In what reſpects he thinks "he can be of uſe to the Order? Who are his "anceſtors, relations, friends, correſpondents, or "enemies? Whom he thinks proper perſons to "be received into the Order, or whom he thinks "unfit for it, and the reaſons for both opinions?" To each of theſe queſtions he muſt give ſome anſwer in writing.

The Novice and his Mentor are known only to each other; perhaps nothing more follows upon this; if otherwiſe, the Mentor appoints another conference, and begins his inſtructions, by giving him in detail certain portions of the conſtitution, and of the fundamental rules of the Order. Of theſe the Novice muſt give a weekly account in writing. He muſt alſo read, in the Mentor's houſe, a book containing more of the inſtructions of the Order; but he muſt make no extracts. Yet from this reading he muſt derive all his knowledge; and he muſt give an account in writing of his progreſs. All writings received from his Superiors muſt be returned with a ſtated punctuality.

punctuality. These writings consist chiefly of important and delicate questions, suited, either to the particular inclination, or to the peculiar taste which the candidate had discovered in his subscriptions of the articles of the table, and in his former rescripts, or to the direction which the Mentor wishes to give to his thoughts.

Enlightening the understanding, and the rooting out of prejudices, are pointed out to him as the principal tasks of his noviciate. The knowledge of himself is considered as preparatory to all other knowledge. To disclose to him, by means of the calm and unbiassed observation of his instructor, what is his own character, his most vulnerable side, either in respect of temper, passions, or prepossessions, is therefore the most essential service that can be done him. For this purpose there is required of him some account of his own conduct on occasions where he doubted of its propriety; some account of his friendships, of his differences of opinion, and of his conduct on such occasions. From such relations the Superior learns his manner of thinking and judging, and those propensities which require his chief attention.

Having made the candidate acquainted with himself, he is apprised that the Order is not a speculative, but an active association, engaged in doing good to others. The knowledge of hu-

man character is therefore of all others the moſt important. This is acquired only by obſervation, aſſiſted by the inſtructions of his teacher. Characters in hiſtory are propoſed to him for obſervation, and his opinion is required. After this he is directed to look around him, and to notice the conduct of other men; and part of his weekly reſcripts muſt conſiſt of accounts of all intereſting occurrences in his neighbourhood, whether of a public or private nature. Coſſandey, one of the four Profeſſors, gives a particular account of the inſtructions relating to this kind of ſcience. "The Novice muſt be attentive to trifles: For in "frivolous occurrences a man is indolent, and "makes no effort to act a part, ſo that his real "character is then acting alone. Nothing will "have ſuch influence with the Superiors in pro-"moting the advancement of a candidate as very "copious narrations of this kind, becauſe the "candidate, if promoted, is to be employed in "an active ſtation, and it is from this kind of "information only that the Superiors can judge "of his fitneſs. Theſe characteriſtic anecdotes "are not for the inſtruction of the Superiors, who "are men of long experience, and familiar with "ſuch occupation. But they inform the Order "concerning the talents and proficiency of the "young member. Scientific inſtruction, being "connected by ſyſtem, is ſoon communicated, and

"may

" may in general be very completely obtained " from the books which are recommended to the " Novice, and acquired in the public ſeminaries " of inſtruction. But knowledge of character is " more multifarious and more delicate. For this " there is no college, and it muſt therefore re- " quire longer time for its attainment. Beſides, " this aſſiduous and long continued ſtudy of men, " enables the poſſeſſor of ſuch knowledge to act " with men, and by his knowledge of their cha- " racter, to influence their conduct. For ſuch " reaſons this ſtudy is continued, and theſe re- " ſcripts are required, during the whole progreſs " through the Order, and attention to them is " recommended as the only mean of advancement. " Remarks on Phyſiognomy in theſe narrations " are accounted of conſiderable value." So far Mr. Coſſandey.

During all this trial, which may laſt one, two, or three years, the Novice knows no perſon of the Order but his own inſtructor, with whom he has frequent meetings, along with other Minervals. In theſe converſations he learns the importance of the Order, and the opportunities he will afterwards have of acquiring much hidden ſcience. The employment of his unknown Superiors naturally cauſes him to entertain very high notions of their abilities and worth. He is counſelled to aim at a reſemblance to them by getting rid by degrees of all thoſe prejudices or prepoſſeſſions which

which checked his own former progreſs; and he is aſſiſted in this endeavour by an invitation to a correſpondence with them. He may addreſs his Provincial Superior, by directing his letter *Soli*, or the General by *Primo*, or the Superiors in general by *Quibus licet*. In theſe letters he may mention whatever he thinks conducive to the advancement of the Order; he may inform the Superiors how his inſtructor behaves to him; if aſſiduous or remiſs, indulgent or ſevere. The Superiors are enjoined by the ſtrongeſt motives to convey theſe letters wherever addreſſed. None but the General and Council know the reſult of all this; and all are enjoined to keep themſelves and their proceedings unknown to all the world.

If three years of this Noviciate have elapſed without further notice, the Minerval muſt look for no further advancement; he is found unfit, and remains a Free Maſon of the higheſt claſs. This is called a *Sta bene*.

But ſhould his Superiors judge more favourably of him, he is drawn out of the general maſs of Free Maſons, and becomes *Illuminatus Minor*. When called to a conference for this purpoſe, he is told in the moſt ſerious manner, that "it is "vain for him to hope to acquire wiſdom by "mere ſyſtematic inſtruction; for ſuch inſtruc- "tion the Superiors have no leiſure. Their duty "is not to form ſpeculators, but active men,

"whom

" whom they must *immediately* employ in the ser-
" vice of the Order. He must therefore grow
" wise and able entirely by the unfolding and ex-
" ertion of his own talents. His Superiors have
" already discovered what these are, and know
" what service he may be capable of rendering
" the Order, provided he now heartily acquiesces
" in being thus honourably employed. They
" will assist him in bringing his talents into action,
" and will place him in the situations most fa-
" vourable for their exertion, so that he may be
" *assured* of success. Hitherto he has been a mere
" scholar, but his first step farther carries him
" into action; he must therefore now consider
" himself as an instrument in the hands of his
" Superiors, to be used for the noblest purposes."
The aim of the order is now more fully told him. It is, in one sentence, " to make of the " human race, without any distinction of nation, " condition, or profession, one good and happy " family." To this aim, demonstrably attainable, every smaller consideration must give way. This may sometimes require sacrifices which no man standing alone has fortitude to make; but which become light, and a source of the purest enjoyment, when supported and encouraged by the countenance and co-operation of the united wise and good, such as are the Superiors of the Order. If the candidate, warmed by the alluring picture of the possible happiness of a vir-

a virtuous Society, says that he is sensible of the propriety of this procedure, and still wishes to be of the Order, he is required to sign the following obligation.

"I, N.N. protest before you, the worthy Plenipotentiary of the venerable Order into which I wish to be admitted, that I acknowledge my natural weakness and inability, and that I, with all my possessions, rank, honours, and titles which I hold in political society, am, at bottom, only a man; I can enjoy these things only through my fellow-men, and through them also I may lose them. The approbation and consideration of my fellow-men are indispensably necessary, and I must try to maintain them by all my talents. These I will never use to the prejudice of universal good, but will oppose, with all my might, the enemies of the human race, and of political society. I will embrace every opportunity of saving mankind, by improving my understanding and my affections, and by imparting all important knowledge, as the good and statutes of this Order require of me. I bind myself to perpetual silence and unshaken loyalty and submission to the Order, in the persons of my Superiors; here making a faithful and complete surrender of my private judgment, my own will, and every narrow-minded employment of my power and influence. I pledge myself to account the good of the Order as my

" own, and am ready to ſerve it with my fortune, " my honour, and my blood. Should I, through " omiſſion, neglect, paſſion, or wickedneſs, be- " have contrary to this good of the Order, I ſub- " ject myſelf to what reproof or puniſhment my " Superiors ſhall enjoin. The friends and enemies " of the Order ſhall be my friends and enemies; " and with reſpect to both I will conduct myſelf " as directed by the Order, and am ready, in " every lawful way, to devote myſelf to its in- " creaſe and promotion, and therein to employ " all my ability. All this I promiſe, and proteſt, " without ſecret reſervation, according to the in- " tention of the Society which require from me " this engagement. This I do as I am, and as I " hope to continue, a Man of Honour."

A drawn ſword is then pointed at his breaſt, and he is aſked, Will you be obedient to the commands of your Superiors? He is threatened with unavoidable vengeance, from which no potentate can defend him, if he ſhould ever betray the Order. He is then aſked, 1. What aim does he wiſh the Order to have? 2. What means he would chooſe to advance this aim? 3. Whom he wiſhes to keep out of the Order? 4. What ſubjects he wiſhes not to be diſcuſſed in it?

Our candidate is now ILLUMINATUS MINOR. It is needleſs to narrate the mummery of reception, and it is enough to ſay, that it nearly reſembles

ſembles that of the *Maſonic Chevalier du Soleil*, known to every one much converſant in Maſonry. Weiſhaupt's preparatory diſcourſe of reception is a piece of good compoſition, whether conſidered as argumentative, (from topics indeed, that are very gratuitous and fanciful,) or as a ſpecimen of that declamation which was ſo much practiſed by Libanius and the other Sophiſts, and it gives a diſtinct and captivating account of the profeſſed aim of the Order.

The *Illuminatus Minor* learns a good deal more of the Order, but by very ſparing morſels, under the ſame inſtructor. The taſk has now become more delicate and difficult. The chief part of it is the rooting out of prejudices in politics and religion; and Weiſhaupt has ſhown much addreſs in the method which he has employed. Not the moſt hurtful, but the moſt eaſily refuted were the firſt ſubjects of diſcuſſion, ſo that the pupil gets into the habits of victory; and his reverence for the ſyſtems of either kind is diminiſhed when they are found to have harboured ſuch untenable opinions. The proceedings in the Eclectic Lodges of Maſonry, and the harangues of the Brother Orators, teemed with the boldeſt ſentiments both in politics and religion. Enlightening, and the triumph of reaſon, had been the *ton* of the country for ſome time paſt, and every inſtitution, civil and religious, had been the ſubject of the moſt free

free criticiſm. Above all, the Coſmo-politiſm, imported from France, where it had been the favourite topic of the enthuſiaſtical œconomiſts, was now become a general theme of diſcuſſion in all ſocieties that had any pretenſions to cultivation. It was a ſubject of eaſy and agreeable declamation; and the Literati found in it a ſubject admirably fitted for ſhowing their talents, and ingratiating themſelves with the young men of fortune, whoſe minds, unſuſpicious as yet and generous, were fired with the fair proſpects ſet before them of univerſal and attainable happineſs. And the pupils of the Illuminati were ſtill more warmed by the thought that they were to be the happy inſtruments of accompliſhing all this. And though the doctrines of univerſal liberty and equality, as impreſcriptible rights of man, might ſometimes ſtartle thoſe who poſſeſſed the advantage of fortune, there were thouſands of younger ſons, and of men of talents without fortune, to whom theſe were agreeable ſounds. And we muſt particularly obſerve, that thoſe who were now the pupils were a ſet of picked ſubjects, whoſe characters and peculiar biaſes were well known by their conduct during their noviciate as Minervals. They were therefore ſuch as, in all probability, would not boggle at very free ſentiments. We might rather expect a partiality to doctrines which removed ſome reſtraints which formerly checked them

them in the indulgence of youthful paſſions. Their inſtructors, who have thus relieved their minds from ſeveral anxious thoughts, muſt appear men of ſuperior minds. This was a notion moſt carefully inculcated; and they could ſee nothing to contradict it; for, except their own Mentor, they knew none; they heard of Superiors of different ranks, but never ſaw them; and the ſame mode of inſtruction that was practiſed during their noviciate was ſtill retained. More particulars of the Order were ſlowly unfolded to them, and they were taught that their Superiors were men of diſtinguiſhed talents, and were Superiors for this reaſon alone. They were taught, that the great opportunities which the Superiors had for obſervation, and their habits of continually occupying their thoughts with the great objects of this Order, had enlarged their views, even far beyond the narrow limits of nations and kingdoms, which they hoped would one day coaleſce into one great Society, where conſideration would attach to talents and worth alone, and that pre-eminence in theſe would be invariably attended with all the enjoyments of influence and power. And they were told that they would gradually become acquainted with theſe great and venerable Characters, as they advanced in the Order. In earneſt of this, they were made acquainted with one or two Superiors, and with ſeveral Illuminati of their own rank.

rank. Alſo, to whet their zeal, they are now made inſtructors of one or two Minervals, and report their progreſs to their Superiors. They are given to underſtand that nothing can ſo much recommend them as the ſucceſs with which they perform this taſk. It is declared to be the beſt evidence of their uſefulneſs in the great deſigns of the Order.

The baleful effects of general ſuperſtition, and even of any peculiar religious prepoſſeſſion, are now ſtrongly inculcated, and the diſcernment of the pupils in theſe matters is learned by queſtions which are given them from time to time to diſcuſs. Theſe are managed with delicacy and circumſpection, that the timid may not be alarmed. In like manner, the political doctrines of the Order are inculcated with the utmoſt caution. After the mind of the pupil has been warmed by the pictures of univerſal happineſs, and convinced that it is a poſſible thing to unite all the inhabitants of the earth in one great ſociety; and after it has been made out, in ſome meaſure to the ſatisfaction of the pupil, that a great addition of happineſs would be gained by the abolition of national diſtinctions and animoſities; it may frequently be no hard taſk to make him think that patriotiſm is a narrow-minded monopoliſing ſentiment, and even incompatible with the more enlarged views of the Order; namely, the uniting the whole human race into one great and happy

ſociety. Princes are a chief feature of national diſtinction. Princes, therefore, may now be ſafely repreſented as unneceſſary. If ſo, loyalty to Princes loſes much of its ſacred character; and the ſo frequent enforcing of it in our common political diſcuſſions may now be eaſily made to appear a ſelfiſh maxim of rulers, by which they may more eaſily enſlave the people; and thus, it may at laſt appear, that religion, the love of our particular country, and loyalty to our Prince, ſhould be reſiſted, if, by theſe partial or narrow views, we prevent the accompliſhment of that Coſmopolitical happineſs which is continually held forth as the great object of the Order. It is in this point of view that the terms of devotion to the Order, which are inſerted in the oath of admiſſion, are now explained. The authority of the ruling powers is therefore repreſented as of inferior moral weight to that of the Order. "Theſe powers are deſpots, when they do not "conduct themſelves by its principles; and it "is therefore our duty to ſurround them with its "members, ſo that the profane may have no ac-"ceſs to them. Thus we are able moſt power-"fully to promote its intereſts. If any perſon is "more diſpoſed to liſten to Princes than to the "Order, he is not fit for it, and muſt riſe no "higher. We muſt do our utmoſt to procure "the advancement of Illuminati into all import-"ant civil offices."

Accordingly

Accordingly the Order laboured in this with great zeal and ſucceſs. A correſpondence was diſcovered, in which it is plain, that by their influence, one of the greateſt eccleſiaſtical dignities was filled up in oppoſition to the right and authority of the Archbiſhop of Spire, who is there repreſented as a tyrannical and bigotted prieſt. They contrived to place their Members as tutors to the youth of diſtinction. One of them, Baron Leuchtſenring, took the charge of a young prince without any ſalary. They inſinuated themſelves into all public offices, and particularly into courts of juſtice. In like manner, the chairs in the Univerſity of Ingolſtadt were (with only two exceptions) occupied by Illuminati. "Rulers who are members muſt be promoted through the ranks of "the Order only in proportion as they acknowledge the goodneſs of its great object, "and manner of procedure. Its object may be "ſaid to be the checking the tyranny of "princes, nobles, and prieſts, and eſtabliſhing an "univerſal equality of condition and of religion." The pupil is now informed, "that ſuch a religion "is contained in the Order, is the perfection of "Chriſtianity, and will be imparted to him in "due time."

Theſe and other principles and maxims of the Order are partly communicated by the verbal in-

ſtruction of the Mentor, partly by writings, which muſt be punctually returned, and partly read by the pupil at the Mentor's houſe, (but without taking extracts,) in ſuch portions as he ſhall direct. The reſcripts by the pupil muſt contain diſcuſſions on theſe ſubjects, and anecdotes and deſcriptions of living characters; and theſe muſt be zealouſly continued, as the chief mean of advancement. All this while the pupil knows only his Mentor, the Minervals, and a few others of his own rank. All mention of degrees, or other buſineſs of the Order, muſt be carefully avoided, even in the meetings with other Members: "For the Order wiſhes to be "ſecret, and to work in ſilence; for thus it "is better ſecured from the oppreſſion of the "ruling powers, and becauſe this ſecrecy gives "a greater zeſt to the whole."

This ſhort account of the *Noviciate*, and of the loweſt claſs of Illuminati, is all we can get from the authority of Mr. Weiſhaupt. The higher degrees were not publiſhed by him. Many circumſtances appear ſuſpicious, are certainly ſuſceptible of different turns, and may eaſily be puſhed to very dangerous extremes. The accounts given by the four profeſſors confirm theſe ſuſpicions. They declare upon oath, that they make all theſe accuſations in conſequence of what they heard in the meetings,

ings, and of what they knew of the Higher Orders.

But ſince the time of the ſuppreſſion by the Elector, diſcoveries have been made which throw great light on the ſubject. A collection of original papers and correſpondence was found by ſearching the houſe of one Zwack (a Member) in 1786. The following year a much larger collection was found at the houſe of Baron Baſſus; and ſince that time Baron Knigge, the moſt active Member next to Weiſhaupt, publiſhed an account of ſome of the higher degrees, which had been formed by himſelf. A long while after this were publiſhed, *Neueſte Arbeitung des Spartacus und Philo in der Illuminaten Orden*, and *Hohere Graden des Illum. Ordens*. Theſe two works give an account of the whole ſecret conſtitution of the Order, its various degrees, the manner of conferring them, the inſtructions to the intrants, and an explanation of the connection of the Order with Free Maſonry, and a critical hiſtory. We ſhall give ſome extracts from ſuch of theſe as have been publiſhed.

Weiſhaupt was the founder in 1776. In 1778 the number of Members was conſiderably increaſed, and the Order was fully eſtabliſhed. The Members took antique names. Thus Weiſhaupt took the name of Spartacus, the man who headed the inſurrection of ſlaves, which in

Pompey's time kept Rome in terror and uproar for three years. Zwack was called Cato. Knigge was Philo. Baſſus was Hannibal. Hertel was Marius. Marquis Conſtanza was Diomedes. Nicolai, an eminent and learned bookſeller in Berlin, and author of ſeveral works of reputation, took the name of Lucian, the great ſcoffer at all religion. Another was Mahomet, &c. It is remarkable, that except Cato and Socrates, we have not a name of any ancient who was eminent as a teacher and practiſer of virtue. On the contrary, they ſeem to have affected the characters of the free-thinkers and turbulent ſpirits of antiquity. In the ſame manner they gave ancient names to the cities and countries of Europe. Munich was Athens, Vienna was Rome, &c.

Spartacus to Cato, Feb. 6, 1778.

" *Mon but eſt de faire valoir la raiſon.* As a " ſubordinate object I ſhall endeavour to gain ſe- " curity to ourſelves, a backing in caſe of miſ- " fortunes, and aſſiſtance from without. I ſhall " therefore preſs the cultivation of ſcience, eſpe- " cially ſuch ſciences as may have an influence " on our reception in the world, and may ſerve " to remove obſtacles out of the way. We have

" to

" to ſtruggle with pedantry, with intolerance,
" with divines and ſtateſmen, and above all,
" princes and prieſts are in our way. Men are
" unfit as they are, and muſt be formed; each
" claſs muſt be the ſchool of trial for the next.
" This will be tedious, becauſe it is hazardous.
" In the laſt claſſes I propoſe academies under
" the direction of the Order. This will ſecure
" us the adherence of the Literati. Science ſhall
" here be the lure. Only thoſe who are aſſuredly
" proper ſubjects ſhall be picked out from
" among the inferior claſſes for the higher myſte-
" ries, which contain the firſt principles and
" means of promoting a happy life. No reli-
" gioniſt muſt, on any account, be admitted
" into theſe: For here we work at the diſcovery
" and extirpation of ſuperſtition and prejudices.
" The inſtructions ſhall be ſo conducted that
" each ſhall diſcloſe what he thinks he conceals
" within his own breaſt, what are his ruling pro-
" penſities and paſſions, and how far he has ad-
" vanced in the command of himſelf. This will
" anſwer all the purpoſes of auricular confeſſion.
" And, in particular, every perſon ſhall be made
" a ſpy on another and on all around him. No-
" thing can eſcape our ſight; by theſe means
" we ſhall readily diſcover who are contented,
" and receive with reliſh the peculiar ſtate-doc-
" trines and religious opinions that are laid be-

" fore them; and, at laſt, the truſt-worthy alone " will be admitted to a participation of the whole " maxims and political conſtitution of the Or- " der. In a council compoſed of ſuch members " we ſhall labour at the contrivance of means to " drive by degrees the enemies of reaſon and of " humanity out of the world, and to eſtabliſh a " peculiar morality and religion fitted for the " great Society of Mankind.

" But this is a tickliſh project, and requires " the utmoſt circumſpection. The ſqueamiſh " will ſtart at the ſight of religious or political " novelties; and they muſt be prepared for them. " We muſt be particularly careful about the books " which we recommend; I ſhall confine them at " firſt to moraliſts and reaſoning hiſtorians. This " will prepare for a patient reception, in the " higher claſſes, of works of a bolder flight, ſuch " as Robinet's *Syſteme de la Nature—Politique Na-* " *turelle—Philoſophie de la Nature—Syſteme So-* " *cial*—The writings of Mirabaud, &c. Helve- " tius is fit only for the ſtrongeſt ſtomachs. If " any one has a copy already, neither praiſe nor " find fault with him. Say nothing on ſuch ſub- " jects to intrants, for we don't know how they " will be received—folks are not yet prepared. " Marius, an excellent man, muſt be dealt with. " His ſtomach, which cannot yet digeſt ſuch " ſtrong food, muſt acquire a better tone. The " allegory on which I am to found the myſteries

" of

" of the Higher Orders is *the fire-worſhip of the* " *Magi*. We muſt have ſome worſhip, and " none is ſo appoſite. LET THERE BE LIGHT, " AND THERE SHALL BE LIGHT. This is my " motto, and is my fundamental principle. The " degrees will be *Feuer Orden*, *Parſen Orden* * ; " all very practicable. In the courſe through " theſe there will be no STA BENE (this is the " anſwer given to one who ſolicits preferment, " and is refuſed). For I engage that none ſhall " enter this claſs who has not laid aſide his " prejudices. No man is fit for our Order who " is not a Brutus or a Catiline, and is not ready " to go every length.—Tell me how you like " this?"

Spartacus to Cato, March 1778.

" To collect unpubliſhed works, and informa- " tion from the archives of States, will be a moſt " uſeful ſervice. We ſhall be able to ſhow in a " very ridiculous light the claims of our deſpots. " Marius (keeper of the archives of the Electorate) " has ferreted out a noble document, which we " have got. He makes it, forſooth, a caſe of " conſcience—how ſilly that—ſince only that is

* This is evidently the *Myſtere du Mithrus* mentioned by Barruel, in his Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, and had been carried into France by Bede and Buſche.

" *ſin*

" *ſin* which is *ultimately* productive of miſchief. In " this caſe, where the advantage far exceeds the " hurt, it is meritorious virtue. It will do more " good in our hands than by remaining for 1000 " years on the duſty ſhelf."

There was found in the hand-writing of Zwack a project for a Siſterhood, in ſubſerviency to the deſigns of the Illuminati. In it are the following paſſages:

" It will be of great ſervice, and procure us " both much information *and money*, and will ſuit " charmingly the taſte of many of our trueſt mem- " bers, who are lovers of the ſex. It ſhould con- " ſiſt of two claſſes, the virtuous and the freer " hearted (i. e. thoſe who fly out of the com- " mon track of prudiſh manners); they muſt not " know of each other, and muſt be under the di- " rection of men, but without knowing it. Pro- " per books muſt be put into their hands, and ſuch " (but ſecretly) as are flattering to their paſſions."

There are, in the ſame hand-writing, Deſcription of a ſtrong box, which, if forced open, ſhall blow up and deſtroy its contents—Several receipts for procuring abortion—A compoſition which blinds or kills when ſpurted in the face—A ſheet, containing a receipt for ſympathetic ink—Tea for procuring abortion—*Herbæ quæ habent qualitatem deletream*—A method for filling a bed-chamber with peſtilential vapours—How to take off impreſ-

ſions

ſions of ſeals, ſo as to uſe them afterwards as ſeals —A collection of ſome hundreds of ſuch impreſſions, with a liſt of their owners, princes, nobles, clergymen, merchants, &c.—A receipt *ad excitandum furorem uterinum*,—A manuſcript intitled, "Better than Horus." It was afterwards printed and diſtributed at Leipzig fair, and is an attack and bitter ſatire on all religion. This is in the hand-writing of Ajax. As alſo a diſſertation on ſuicide.—N. B. His ſiſter-in-law threw herſelf from the top of a tower. There was alſo a ſet of portraits, or characters of eighty-five ladies in Munich; with recommendations of ſome of them for members of a Lodge of Siſter Illuminatæ; alſo injunctions to all the Superiors to learn to write with both hands; and that they ſhould uſe more than one cypher.

Immediately after the publication of theſe writings, many defences appeared. It was ſaid that the dreadful medical apparatus were with propriety in the hands of Counſellor Zwack, who was a judge of a criminal court, and whoſe duty it was therefore to know ſuch things. The ſame excuſe was offered for the collection of ſeals; but how came theſe things to be put up with papers of the Illuminati, and to be in the hand-writing of one of that Order? Weiſhaupt ſays, "Theſe things "were not carried into effect—only ſpoken of, "and are juſtifiable when taken in proper con-"nection."

" nection." This however he has not pointed out; but he appeals to the account of the Order, which he had publiſhed at Regenſburg, and in which neither theſe things are to be found, nor any poſſibility of a connection by which they may be juſtified. " All men," ſays he, " are ſubject to errors, and the beſt man is he " who beſt conceals them. I have never been " guilty of any ſuch vices or follies: for proof, " I appeal to the whole tenor of my life, which " my reputation, and my ſtruggles with hoſtile " cabals, had brought completely into public view " long before the inſtitution of this Order, with- " out abating any thing of that flattering regard " which was paid to me by the firſt perſons of " my country and its neighbourhood; a regard " well evinced by their confidence in me as the " beſt inſtructor of their children." In ſome of his private letters, we learn the means which he employed to acquire this influence among the youth, and they are ſuch as could not fail. But we muſt not anticipate. " It is well known " that I have made the chair which I oc- " cupied in the univerſity of Ingolſtadt, the re- " ſort of the firſt claſs of the German youth; " whereas formerly it had only brought round " it the low-born practitioners in the courts of " law. I have gone through the whole circle " of human enquiry. I have exorciſed ſpirits—

" raiſed

" raiſed ghoſts—diſcovered treaſures—interro-
" gated the Cabala—*hatte Loto geſpielt*—I have
" never tranſmuted metals."—(A very pretty and reſpectable circle indeed, and what vulgar ſpirits would ſcarcely have included within the pale of their curioſity.)—" The tenor of my life has
" been the oppoſite of every thing that is vile;
" and no man can lay any ſuch thing to my
" charge. I have reaſon to rejoice that theſe
" writings have appeared; they are a vindication
" of the Order and of my conduct. I can and
" muſt declare to God, and I do it now in the
" moſt ſolemn manner, that in my whole life I
" never ſaw or heard of the ſo much condemned
" ſecret writings; and in particular, reſpecting
" theſe abominable means, ſuch as poiſoning,
" abortion, &c. was it ever known to me in any
" caſe, that any of my friends or acquaintances
" ever even thought of them, adviſed them, or
" made any uſe of them. I was indeed always
" a ſchemer and projector, but never could en-
" gage much in detail. My general plan is good,
" though in the detail there may be faults. I
" had myſelf to form. In another ſituation, and
" in an active ſtation in life, I ſhould have been
" keenly occupied, and the founding an Order
" would never have come into my head. But I
" would have executed much greater things, had
" not government always oppoſed my exertions,

" and placed others in the ſituations which ſuited " my talents. It was the full conviction of this " and of what could be done, if every man were " placed in the office for which he was fitted by " nature and a proper education, which firſt ſug- " geſted to me the plan of Illumination." Surely Mr. Weiſhaupt had a very ſerious charge, the education of youth; and his encouragement in that charge was the moſt flattering that an Illuminatus could wiſh for; becauſe he had brought round him the youth whoſe influence in ſociety was the greateſt, and who would moſt of all contribute to the diffuſing good principles, and exciting to good conduct through the whole ſtate. " I did not," ſays he, " bring deiſm into Ba- " varia more than into Rome. I found it here, " in great vigour, more abounding than in any " of the neighbouring Proteſtant ſtates. I am " proud to be known to the world as the founder " of the Order of Illuminati; and I repeat my " wiſh to have for my epitaph,

" *Hic ſitus eſt Phaethon, currûs auriga paterni,*
" *Quem ſi non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit auſis.*"

The ſecond diſcovery of ſecret correſpondence at Sanderſdorff, the ſeat of Baron Batz, (Hannibal,) contains ſtill more intereſting facts.

Spartacus

Spartacus to Cato.

" What ſhall I do? I am deprived of all help. " Socrates, who would inſiſt on being a man of " conſequence among us, and is really a man of " talents, and of a *right way of thinking*, is eter- " nally beſotted. Auguſtus is in the worſt eſti- " mation imaginable. Alcibiades ſits the day " long with the vintner's pretty wife, and there " he ſighs and pines. A few days ago, at Co- " rinth, Tiberius attempted to raviſh the wife of " Democides, and her huſband came in upon " them. Good heavens! what *Areopagitæ* I have " got. When the worthy man Marcus Aurelius " comes to Athens, (Munich,) what will he " think? What a meeting of diſſolute immoral " wretches, whoremaſters, liars, bankrupts, brag- " garts, and vain fools! When he ſees all this, " what will he think? He will be aſhamed to " enter into an Aſſociaton," (obſerve Reader, that Spartacus writes this in Auguſt 1783, in the very time that he would have murdered Cato's ſiſter, as we ſhall ſeè,) " where the chiefs raiſe the " higheſt expectations, and exhibit ſuch wretched " examples; and all this from ſelf-will, from ſen- " ſuality. Am I not in the right—that this man— " that any ſuch worthy man—whoſe name alone " would give us the ſelection of all Germany— " will

" will declare that the whole province of Grecia,
" (Bavaria,) innocent and guilty, muſt be exclud-
" ed. I tell you, we may ſtudy, and write, and toil
" till death. We may ſacrifice to the Order, our
" health, our fortune, and our reputation, (alas, the
" loſs!) and theſe Lords, following their own plea-
" ſures, will whore, cheat, ſteal, and drive on like
" ſhameleſs raſcals; and yet muſt be *Areopagitæ*,
" and interfere in every thing. Indeed, my dear-
" eſt friend, we have only enſlaved ourſelves."

In another part of this fine correſpondence, Diomedes has had the good fortune to intercept a Q. L. (*Quibus licet,*) in which it is ſaid, and ſupported by proofs, that Cato had received 250 florins as a bribe for his ſentence in his capacity of a judge in a criminal court (the end had ſurely ſanctified the means). In another, a Minerval complains of his Mentor for having by lies occaſioned the diſmiſſion of a phyſician from a family, by which the Mentor obtained, in the ſame capacity, the cuſtom of the houſe and free acceſs, which favour he repaid by debauching the wife; and he prays to be informed whether he may not get another Mentor, ſaying that although that man had always given him the moſt excellent inſtructions, and he doubted not would continue them, yet he felt a diſguſt at the hypocriſy, which would certainly diminiſh the impreſſion of the moſt ſalutary truths. (Is it not diſtreſſing to think, that this promiſing youth will

will by and by laugh at his former ſimplicity, and follow the ſteps and not the inſtructions of his phyſician.) In another place, Spartacus writes to Marius, (in confidence,) that another worthy Brother, an *Areopagita*, had ſtolen a gold and a ſilver watch, and a ring, from Brutus, *(Savioli,)* and begs Marius, in another letter, to try, while it was yet poſſible, to get the things reſtored, becauſe the culprit was a moſt *excellent man*, *(Vortrefflich,)* and of vaſt uſe to the Order, having the direction of an eminent ſeminary of young *gentlemen;* and becauſe Savioli was much in good company, and did not much care for the Order, except in ſo far as it gave him an opportunity of knowing and leading ſome of them, and of ſteering his way at court.

I cannot help inſerting here, though not the moſt proper place, a part of a provincial report from Knigge, the man of the whole *Areopagitæ* who ſhows any thing like urbanity or gentleneſs of mind.

"Of my whole colony, (Weſtphalia,) the moſt "brilliant is Claudiopolis *(Neuwied)*. There "they work, and direct, and do wonders."

If there ever was a ſpot upon earth where men may be happy in a ſtate of cultivated ſociety, it was the little principality of Neuwied. I ſaw it in 1770. The town was neat, and the palace handſome and in good taſte. But the country

was beyond conception delightful; not a cottage that was out of repair, not a hedge out of order; it had been the hobby (pardon me the word) of the Prince, who made it his *daily* employment to go through his principality regularly, and aſſiſt every houſeholder, of whatever condition, with his advice, and with his purſe; and, when a freeholder could not of himſelf put things into a thriving condition, the Prince ſent his workmen and did it for him. He endowed ſchools for the common people, and two academies for the gentry and the people of buſineſs. He gave little portions to the daughters, and prizes to the well-behaving ſons of the labouring people. His own houſehold was a pattern of elegance and economy; his ſons were ſent to Paris to learn elegance, and to England to learn ſcience and agriculture. In ſhort, the whole was like a romance (and was indeed romantic). I heard it ſpoken of with a ſmile at the table of the Biſhop of Treves, at Ehrenbretſtein, and was induced to ſee it next day as a curioſity: And yet even here, the fanaticiſm of Knigge would diſtribute his poiſon, and tell the blinded people, that they were in a ſtate of ſin and miſery, that their Prince was a deſpot, and that they would never be happy till he was made to fly, and till they were all made equal.

They

They got their wiſh: the ſwarm of French locuſts ſat down on Neuwied's beautiful fields in 1793, and entrenched themſelves; and in three months, Prince and farmers houſes, and cottages, and ſchools, and academies—all had vaniſhed; and all the ſubjects were made equal. But when they complained to the French General (René le Grand) of being plundered by his ſoldiers, he anſwered, with a contemptuous and cutting laugh, "All is ours—we have left you your "eyes to cry."—(*Report to the Convention, 13th June* 1795.)

Diſcite juſtitiam moniti, et non temnere divos!

To proceed:

Spartacus to Cato.

"By this plan we ſhall direct all mankind. "In this manner, and by the ſimpleſt means, we "ſhall ſet all in motion and in flames. The oc-"cupations muſt be ſo allotted and contrived, "that we may, in ſecret, influence all political "tranſactions." N. B. This alludes to a part that is with-held from the public, becauſe it contained the allotment of the moſt rebellious and profligate occupations to ſeveral perſons whoſe common names could not be traced. "I have "conſidered," ſays Spartacus, "every thing,

" and ſo prepared it, that if the Order ſhould " this day go to ruin, I ſhall in a year re-eſtabliſh " it more brilliant than ever." Accordingly it got up again in about this ſpace of time, under the name of the GERMAN UNION, appearing in the form of READING SOCIETIES. One of theſe was ſet up in Zwack's houſe; and this raiſing a ſuſpicion, a viſitation was made at Landſhut, and the firſt ſet of the private papers were found. The ſcheme was, however, zealouſly proſecuted in other parts of Germany, as we ſhall ſee by and by. " Nor," continues Spartacus, " will it " ſignify though all ſhould be betrayed and " printed. I am ſo certain of ſucceſs, in ſpite of " all obſtacles, (for the ſprings are in every heart,) " that I am indifferent, though it ſhould involve " my life and my liberty. What! have thouſands " thrown away their lives about ὁμοις and ὁμοιουσιος, " and ſhall not this cauſe warm even the heart of " a coward? But I have the art to draw advantage " even from misfortune; and when you would " think me ſunk to the bottom, I ſhall riſe with " new vigour. Who would have thought, that " a profeſſor at Ingolſtadt was to become the " teacher of the profeſſors of Gottingen, and of " the greateſt men in Germany?"

Spartacus

Spartacus to Cato.

" Send me back my degree of *Illuminatus Mi-*
" *nor*; it is the wonder of all men here (I may
" perhaps find time to give a tranſlation of the
" diſcourſe of reception, which contains all that
" can be ſaid of this Aſſociation to the public); as
" alſo the two laſt ſheets of my degree, which is
" in the keeping of Marius, and Ceſſus, under
" 100 locks, which contains my hiſtory of the
" lives of the Patriarchs." N. B. Nothing very particular has been diſcovered of theſe lives of the Patriarchs. He ſays, that there were above ſixty ſheets of it. To judge by the care taken of it, it muſt be a favourite work, very hazardous, and very catching.

In another letter to Cato, we have ſome hints of the higher degrees, and concerning a peculiar morality, and a popular religion, which the Order was one day to give the world. He ſays, " There muſt *(a la Jeſuite)* not a ſingle pur-
" poſe ever come in ſight that is ambiguous, and
" that may betray our aims againſt religion and
" the ſtate. One muſt ſpeak ſometimes one way
" and ſometimes another, but ſo as never to
" contradict ourſelves, and ſo that, with reſpect to
" our true way of thinking, we may be impenetra-
" ble. When our ſtrongeſt things chance to

" give offence, they muſt be explained as attempts " to draw anſwers which diſcover to us the " ſentiments of the perſon we converſe with. " N. B. This did not always ſucceed with him.

Spartacus ſays, ſpeaking of the prieſts degree, " One would almoſt imagine, that this " degree, as I have managed it, is genuine " Chriſtianity, and that its end was to free " the Jews from ſlavery. I ſay, that Free Ma- " ſonry is concealed Chriſtianity. My expla- " nation of the hieroglyphics, at leaſt, pro- " ceeds on this ſuppoſition; and as I explain " things, no man need be aſhamed of being a " Chriſtian. Indeed I afterwards throw away " this name, and ſubſtitute *Reaſon*. But I aſſure " you this is no ſmall affair; a new religion, " and a new ſtate-government, which ſo happily " explain one and all of theſe ſymbols, and " combine them in one degree. You may think " that this is my chief work; but I have three " other degrees, all different, for my claſs of " higher myſteries, in compariſon with which " this is but child's play; but theſe I keep for " myſelf as General, to be beſtowed by me only " on the *Benemeritiſſimi*," (ſurely ſuch as Cato, his deareſt friend, and the poſſeſſor of ſuch pretty ſecrets, as abortives, poiſons, peſtilential vapours, &c.). " The promoted may be Are-

" opagites

" copagites or not. Were you here I ſhould " give you this degree without heſitation. But " it is too important to be intruſted to paper, or " to be beſtowed otherwiſe than from my own " hand. It is the key to hiſtory, to religion, " and to every ſtate-government in the " world *."

Spartacus proceeds, " There ſhall be but three " copies for all Germany. You can't imagine " what reſpect and curioſity my prieſt-degree has " raiſed; and, which is wonderful, a famous " Proteſtant divine, who is now of the Order, " is perſuaded that the religion contained in it " is the true ſenſe of Chriſtianity. O MAN, " MAN! TO WHAT MAY'ST THOU NOT BE " PERSUADED. Who would imagine that I was " to be the founder of a new religion?"

In this ſcheme of Maſonic Chriſtianity, Spartacus and Philo laboured ſeriouſly together. Spartacus ſent him the materials, and Philo worked them up. It will therefore illuſtrate this

* I obſerve, in other parts of his correſpondence where he ſpeaks of this, ſeveral ſingular phraſes, which are to be found in two books; *Antiquité devoilée par ſes Uſages*, and *Origine du Deſpotiſme Oriental*. Theſe contain indeed much of the maxims inculcated in the reception diſcourſe of the degree *Illumanitus Minor*. Indeed I have found, that Weiſhaupt is much leſs an inventor than he is generally thought.

capital point of the conſtitution of the Order, if we take Philo's account of it.

Philo to Cato.

" We muſt conſider the ruling propenſities of " every age of the world. At preſent the cheats " and tricks of the prieſts have rouſed all men " againſt them, and againſt Chriſtianity. But, " at the ſame time, ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm " rule with unlimited dominion, and the under- " ſtanding of man really ſeems to be going back- " wards. Our taſk, therefore, is doubled. We " muſt give ſuch an account of things, that fa- " natics ſhall not be alarmed, and that ſhall, not- " withſtanding, excite a ſpirit of free enquiry. " We muſt not throw away the good with the " bad, the child with the dirty water; but we " muſt make the ſecret doctrines of Chriſtianity " be received as the ſecrets of genuine Free Ma- " ſonry. But farther, we have to deal with the " deſpotiſm of Princes. This increaſes every " day. But then, the ſpirit of freedom breathes " and ſighs in every corner; and, by the aſſiſt- " ance of hidden ſchools of wiſdom, Liberty " and Equality, the natural and impreſcriptible " rights of man, warm and glow in every breaſt.

" We

" We muſt therefore unite theſe extremes. We " proceed in this manner.

" Jeſus Chriſt eſtabliſhed no new Religion; he " would only ſet Religion and Reaſon in their an- " cient rights. For this purpoſe he would unite " men in a common bond. He would fit them " for this by ſpreading a juſt morality, by en- " lightening the underſtanding, and by aſſiſting " the mind to ſhake off all prejudices. He would " teach all men, in the firſt place, to govern " themſelves. Rulers would then be needleſs, " and equality and liberty would take place " without any revolution, by the natural and " gentle operation of reaſon and expediency. " This great Teacher allows himſelf to ex- " plain every part of the Bible in conformity " to theſe purpoſes; and he forbids all wrang- " ling among his ſcholars, becauſe every man " may there find a reaſonable application to his " peculiar doctrines. Let this be true or falſe, " it does not ſignify. This was a ſimple Reli- " gion, and it was ſo far inſpired; but the minds " of his hearers were not fitted for receiving theſe " doctrines. I told you, ſays he, but you could not " bear it. Many therefore were called, but few " were choſen. To this elect were entruſted the " moſt important ſecrets; and even among them " there were degrees of information. There was " a ſeventy, and a twelve. All this was in the

" natural order of things, and according to the " habits of the Jews, and indeed of all antiquity. " The Jewiſh Theoſophy was a myſtery; like " the Eleuſinian, or the Pythagorean, unfit for " the vulgar. And thus the doctrines of Chriſti- " anity were committed to the *Adepti*, in a *Diſci-* " *plina Arcani*. By theſe they were maintained " like the Veſtal Fire. They were kept up only " in hidden ſocieties, who handed them down to " poſterity; and they are now poſſeſſed by the " genuine Free Maſons."

N. B. This explains the origin of many anonymous pamplets which appeared about this time in Germany, ſhowing that Free Maſonry was Chriſtianity. They have doubtleſs been the works of Spartacus and his partiſans among the Eclectic Maſons. Nicholai, the great apoſtle of infidelity, had given very favourable reviews of theſe performances, and having always ſhewn himſelf an advocate of ſuch writers as depreciated Chriſtianity, it was natural for him to take this opportunity of bringing it ſtill lower in the opinion of the people. Spartacus therefore conceived a high opinion of the importance of gaining Nicholai to the Order. He had before this gained Leuchtſenring, a hot-headed fanatic, who had ſpied Jeſuits in every corner, and ſet Nicholai on his journey through Germany, to hunt them out. This man finding them equally hated by the Illuminati,

was

was eaſily gained, and was moſt zealous in their cauſe. He engaged Nicholai, and Spartacus exults exceedingly in the acquiſition, ſaying, "that "he was an unwearied champion, *et quidem con-* "*tentiſſimus.*" Of this man Philo ſays, "that "he had ſpread this Chriſtianity into every "corner of Germany. I have put meaning," ſays Philo, "to all theſe dark ſymbols, and "have prepared both degrees, introducing "beautiful ceremonies, which I have ſelect-"ed from among thoſe of the ancient com-"munions, combined with thoſe of the Roſaic "Maſonry; and now," ſays he, "it will appear "that *we* are the only true Chriſtians. We ſhall "now be in a condition to ſay a few words "to Prieſts and Princes. I have ſo contrived "things, that I would admit even Popes and "Kings, after the trials which I have prefixed; "and they would be glad to be of the Order."

But how is all this to be reconciled with the plan of Illumination, which is to baniſh Chriſtianity altogether? Philo himſelf in many places ſays, "that it is only a cloak, to prevent ſqueam-"iſh people from ſtarting back." This is done pretty much in the ſame way that was practiſed in the French Maſonry. In one of their Rituals the Maſter's degree is made typical of the death of Jeſus Chriſt, the preacher of Brotherly love. But, in the next ſtep, the *Chevalier du Soleil*, it

is

is Reaſon that has been deſtroyed and entombed, and the Maſter in this degree, the *Sublime Philoſophe*, occaſions the diſcovery of the place where the body is hid; Reaſon riſes again, and ſuperſtition and tyranny diſappear, and all becomes clear; man becomes free and happy.

Let us hear Spartacus again.

Spartacus, in another place.

" We muſt, 1*ſt*, gradually explain away all " our preparatory pious frauds. And when per- " ſons of diſcernment find fault, we muſt deſire " them to conſider the end of all our labour. " This ſanctifies our means, which at any rate " are harmleſs, and have been uſeful, even in " this caſe, becauſe they procured us a patient hear- " ing, when otherwiſe men would have turned " away from us like petted children. This will " convince them of our ſentiments in all the inter- " vening points; and our ambiguous expreſſions " will then be interpreted into an endeavour to " draw anſwers of any kind, which may ſhow us " the minds of our pupils. 2*d*, We muſt un- " fold, from hiſtory and other writings, the origin " and fabrication of all religious lies whatever; " and then, 3*d*, We give a critical hiſtory of the " Order. But I cannot but laugh, when I think

" of

" of the ready reception which all this has met " with from the grave and learned divines of " Germany and of England; and I wonder how " their William failed when he attempted to eſta- " bliſh a Deiſtical Worſhip in London, (what " can this mean?) for, I am certain, that it muſt " have been moſt acceptable to that learned and " free people. But they had not the enlighten- " ing of our days." I may here remark, that Weiſhaupt is preſuming too much on the ignorance of his friend, for there was a great deal of this enlightening in England at the time he ſpeaks of, and if I am not miſtaken, even this celebrated Profeſſor of Irreligion has borrowed moſt of his ſcheme from this kingdom. This to be ſure is nothing in our praiſe. But the *Pantheisticon* of Toland reſembles Weiſhaupt's Illumination in every thing but its rebellion and its villany. Toland's Socratic Lodge is an elegant pattern for Weiſhaupt, and his Triumph of Reaſon, his Philoſophic Happineſs, his God, or *Anima Mundi*, are all ſo like the harſh ſyſtem of Spartacus, that I am convinced that he has copied them, ſtamping them with the roughneſs of his own character. But to go on; Spartacus ſays of the Engliſh: " Their poet Pope made his Eſſay " on Man a ſyſtem of pure naturaliſm, without " knowing it, as Brother Chryſippus did with " my Prieſt's Degree, and was equally aſtoniſhed " when

" when this was pointed out to him. Chryſippus " is religious, but not ſuperſtitious. Brother " Lucian (Nicholai, of whom I have already ſaid " ſo much) ſays, that the grave Zolikofer now " allows that it would be a very proper thing " to eſtabliſh a Deiſtical Worſhip at Berlin. I " am not afraid but things will go on very well. " But Philo, who was entruſted with framing the " Prieſt's Degree, has deſtroyed it without any " neceſſity; it would, forſooth, ſtartle thoſe who " have a hankering for Religion. But I always " told you that Philo is fanatical and prudiſh. I " gave him fine materials, and he has ſtuffed it " full of ceremonies and child's play, and as Mi- " nos ſays, *c'eſt jouer la religion*. But all this " may be corrected in the reviſion by the *Areo-* " *pagita*."

N. B. I have already mentioned Baron Knigge's converſion to Illuminatiſm by the M. de Conſtanza, whoſe name in the Order was Diomedes. Knigge (henceforth Philo) was, next to Spartacus, the moſt ſerviceable man in the Order, and procured the greateſt number of members. It was chiefly by his exertions among the Maſons in the Proteſtant countries, that the *Eclectic Syſtem* was introduced, and afterwards brought under the direction of the Illuminati. This conqueſt was owing entirely to his very extenſive connections among the Maſons. He travelled like a philoſopher

philoſopher from city to city, from Lodge to Lodge, and even from houſe to houſe, before his Illumination, trying to unite the Maſons, and he now went over the ſame ground to extend the *Eclectic Syſtem*, and to get the Lodges put under the direction of the Illuminati, by their choice of the Maſter and Wardens. By this the Order had an opportunity of noticing the conduct of individuals; and when they had found out their manner of thinking, and that they were fit for their purpoſe, they never quitted them till they had gained them over to their party. We have ſeen, that he was by no means void of religious impreſſions, and we often find him offended with the atheiſm of Spartacus. Knigge was at the ſame time a man of the world, and had kept good company. Weiſhaupt had paſſed his life in the habits of a college: therefore he knew Knigge's value, and communicated to him all his projects, to be dreſſed up by him for the taſte of ſociety. Philo was of a much more affectionate diſpoſition, with ſomething of a devotional turn, and was ſhocked at the hard indifference of Spartacus. After labouring four years with great zeal, he was provoked with the diſingenuous tricks of Spartacus, and he broke off all connection with the Society in 1784, and ſome time after publiſhed a declaration of all that he had done in it. This is a moſt excellent account

count of the plan and principles of the Order, (at leaſt as he conceived it, for Spartacus had much deeper views,) and ſhows that the aim of it was to aboliſh Chriſtianity, and all the ſtate-governments in Europe, and to eſtabliſh a great republic. But it is full of romantic notions and enthuſiaſtic declamation, on the hackneyed topics of univerſal citizenſhip, and liberty and equality. Spartacus gave him line, and allowed him to work on, knowing that he could diſcard him when he choſe. I ſhall after this give ſome extracts from Philo's letters, from which the reader will ſee the vile behaviour of Spartacus, and the nature of his ultimate views. In the mean time we may proceed with the account of the principles of the ſyſtem.

Spartacus to Cato.

" Nothing would be more profitable to us than " a right hiſtory of mankind. Deſpotiſm has " robbed them of their liberty. How can the " weak obtain protection? Only by union; but " this is rare. Nothing can bring this about " but hidden ſocieties. Hidden ſchools of wiſ- " dom are the means which will one day free " men from their bonds. Theſe have in all " ages been the archives of nature, and of the " rights

" rights of men; and by them ſhall human na-
" ture be raiſed from her fallen ſtate. Princes
" and nations ſhall vaniſh from the earth. The
" human race will then become one family, and
" the world will be the dwelling of rational
" men.

" Morality alone can do this. The Head of
" every family will be what Abraham was, the
" patriarch, the prieſt, and the unlettered lord
" of his family, and Reaſon will be the code
" of laws to all mankind. THIS," ſays Spar-
tacus, " is our GREAT SECRET. True, there
" may be ſome diſturbance; but by and by
" the unequal will become equal; and after the
" ſtorm all will be calm. Can the unhappy
" conſequences remain when the grounds of
" diſſenſion are removed? Rouſe yourſelves
" therefore, O men! aſſert your rights; and
" then will Reaſon rule with unperceived ſway;
" and ALL SHALL BE HAPPY *.

" Morality will perform all this; and mo-
" rality is the fruit of Illumination; duties and
" rights are reciprocal. Where Octavius has
" no right, Cato owes him no duty. Illumination
" ſhews us our rights, and Morality follows;

* Happy France! Cradle of Illumination, where the morning of Reaſon has dawned, diſpelling the clouds of Monarchy and Chriſtianity, where the babe has ſucked the blood of the unenlightened, and Murder! Fire! Help! has been the lullaby to ſing it to ſleep.

" that Morality which teaches us to be *of age*, " to be *out of wardenſhip*, to be *full grown*, and " to *walk without the leading-ſtrings of prieſts and* " *princes.*

" Jeſus of Nazareth, the Grand Maſter of " our Order, appeared at a time when the " world was in the utmoſt diſorder, and among " a people who for ages had groaned under the " yoke of bondage. He taught them the leſſons " of Reaſon. To be more effective, he took in " the aid of Religion—of opinions which were " current—and, in *a very clever manner*, he com- " bined his ſecret doctrines with the popular re- " ligion, and with the cuſtoms which lay to his " hand. In theſe he wrapped up his leſſons— " he taught by parables. Never did any prophet " lead men ſo eaſily and ſo ſecurely along the " road of liberty. He concealed the precious " meaning and conſequences of his doctrines; " but fully diſcloſed them to a choſen few. He " ſpeaks of a kingdom of the upright and " faithful; his Father's kingdom, whoſe chil- " dren we alſo are. Let us only take Li- " berty and Equality as the great aim of his " doctrines, and Morality as the way to at- " tain it, and every thing in the New Teſta- " ment will be comprehenſible; and Jeſus will " appear as the Redeemer of ſlaves. Man is " fallen from the condition of Liberty and Equa- " lity, the STATE OF PURE NATURE. He is

" under

" under ſubordination and civil bondage, ariſing " from the vices of man. This is the FALL, and " ORIGINAL SIN. The KINGDOM OF GRACE is " that reſtoration which may be brought about " by Illumination and a juſt Morality. This is " the NEW BIRTH. When man lives under go- " vernment, he is fallen, his worth is gone, and " his nature tarniſhed. By ſubduing our paſ- " ſions, or limiting their cravings, we may re- " cover a great deal of our original worth, and " live in a ſtate of grace. This is the redemp- " tion of men—this is accompliſhed by Morali- " ty; and when this is ſpread over the world, " we have THE KINGDOM OF THE JUST.

" But, alas! the taſk of ſelf-formation was too " hard for the ſubjects of the Roman empire, " corrupted by every ſpecies of profligacy. A " choſen few received the doctrines in ſecret, and " they have been handed down to us (but fre- " quently almoſt buried under rubbiſh of man's " invention) by the Free Maſons. Theſe three " conditions of human ſociety are expreſſed by the " rough, the ſplit, and the poliſhed ſtone. The " rough ſtone, and the one that is ſplit, expreſs " our condition under civil government; rough " by every fretting inequality of condition; and " ſplit, ſince we are no longer one family; and " are farther divided by differences of govern- " ment, rank, property, and religion; but when

" reunited in one family, we are repreſented by " the poliſhed ſtone. G. is Grace; the Flam- " ing Star is the Torch of Reaſon. Thoſe who " poſſeſs this knowledge are indeed ILLUMINATI. " Hiram is our fictitious Grand Maſter, ſlain for " the REDEMPTION OF SLAVES; the Nine Maſ- " ters are the Founders of the Order. Free " Maſonry is a Royal Art, inaſmuch as it " teaches us to walk without trammels, and to " govern ourſelves."

Reader, are you not curious to learn ſomething of this all-powerful morality, ſo operative on the heart of the truly illuminated—of this *diſciplina arcani*, entruſted only to the choſen few, and handed down to Profeſſor Weiſhaupt, to Spartacus, and his aſſociates, who have cleared it of the rubbiſh heaped on it by the dim-ſighted Maſons, and now beaming in its native luſtre on the minds of the *Areopagitæ?* The teachers of ordinary Chriſtianity have been labouring for almoſt 2000 years, with the New Teſtament in their hands; many of them with great addreſs, and many, I believe, with honeſt zeal. But, alas! they cannot produce ſuch wonderful and certain effects, (for obſerve, that Weiſhaupt repeatedly aſſures us that his means are certain,) probably for want of this *diſciplina arcani*, of whoſe efficacy ſo much is ſaid. Moſt fortunately, Spartacus has given us a brilliant ſpecimen of the ethics which illuminated

ated himſelf on a trying occaſion, where an ordinary Chriſtian would have been much perplexed, or would have taken a road widely different from that of this illuſtrious apoſtle of light. And ſeeing that ſeveral of the *Areopagitæ* co-operated in the tranſaction, and that it was carefully concealed from the profane and dim-ſighted world, we can have no doubt but that it was conducted according to the *diſciplina arcani* of Illumination. I ſhall give it in his own words.

Spartacus to Marius, September 1783.

" I am now in the moſt embarraſſing ſituation ; " it robs me of all reſt, and makes me unfit for " every thing. I am in danger of loſing at once " my honour and my reputation, by which I " have long had ſuch influence. What think " you?—my ſiſter-in-law is with child. I have " ſent her to Euriphon, and am endeavouring to " procure a marriage-licence from Rome. How " much depends on this uncertainty—and there " is not a moment to loſe. Should I fail, what is " to be done? What a return do I make by this " to a perſon to whom I am ſo much obliged!" (We ſhall ſee the probable meaning of this exclamation by and by). " We have tried every " method in our power to deſtroy the child ;

" and I hope she is determined on every thing—
" even d—." (Can this mean death?) " But, alas!
" Euriphon is, I fear, too timid," (alas! poor woman, thou art now under the *disciplina arcani*,)
" and I see no other expedient. Could I be
" but assured of the silence of Celsus, (a physi-
" cian at Ingolstadt,) he *can* relieve me, and he
" *promised me as much* three years ago. Do speak
" to him, if you think he will be staunch. I
" would not let Cato" (his dearest friend, and his chief or only confidant in the scheme of Illumination) " know it yet, because the affair in other
" respects requires his whole friendship." (Cato had all the pretty receipts.) " Could you but help me
" out of this distress, you would give me life, ho-
" nour, and peace, *and strength to work again in
" the great cause*. If you cannot, be assured I will
" venture on the most desperate stroke," (poor sister!) " for it is fixed.—I will not lose my ho-
" nour. I cannot conceive what devil has made
" me go astray—*me who have always been so care-
" ful on such occasions*. As yet all is quiet, and
" none know of it but you and Euriphon. Were
" it but time to undertake any thing—but alas!
" it is the fourth month. Those damned priests
" too—for the action is so criminally accounted
" by them, and scandalises the blood. This makes
" the utmost efforts and the most desperate mea-
" sures absolutely necessary."

It

It will throw ſome light on this tranſaction if we read a letter from Spartacus to Cato about this time.

" One thing more, my deareſt friend—Would " it be agreeable to you to have me for a bro- " ther-in-law? If this ſhould be agreeable, and " if it can be brought about without prejudice " to my honour, as I hope it may, I am not " without hopes that the connection may take " place. But in the mean time keep it a ſecret, " and only give me permiſſion to enter into cor- " reſpondence on the ſubject with the good lady, " to whom I beg you will offer my reſpectful " compliments, and I will explain myſelf more " fully to you by word of mouth, and tell you " my whole ſituation. But I repeat it—the " thing muſt be gone about with addreſs and " caution. I would not for all the world deceive " a perſon who certainly has not deſerved ſo of " me."

What interpretation can be put on this? Cato ſeems to be brother to the poor woman—he was unwittingly to furniſh the drugs, and he was to be dealt with about conſenting to a marriage, which could not be altogether agreeable to him, ſince it required a diſpenſation, ſhe being already the ſiſter-in-law of Weiſhaupt, either the ſiſter of his former wife, or the widow of a deceaſed brother. Or perhaps Spartacus really wiſhes to

marry Cato's ſiſter, a different perſon from the poor woman in the ſtraw; and he conceals this adventure from his truſty friend Cato, till he ſees what becomes of it. The child may perhaps be got rid of, and then Spartacus is a free man. There is a letter to Cato, thanking him for his friendſhip in the affair of the child—but it gives no light. I meet with another account, that the ſiſter of Zwack threw herſelf from the top of a tower, and beat out her brains. But it is not ſaid that it was an only ſiſter; if it was, the probability is, that Spartacus had paid his addreſſes to her, and ſucceeded, and that the ſubſequent affair of his marriage with his ſiſter-in-law, or ſomething worſe, broke her heart. This ſeems the beſt account of the matter. For Hertel (Marius) writes to Zwack in November 1782: "Spar-
"tacus is this day gone home, but has left his
"ſiſter-in-law pregnant behind (this is from Baſ-
"ſus Hoff). About the new year he hopes to
"be made merry by a ——, who will be before
"all kings and princes—a young Spartacus. The
"Pope alſo will reſpect him, and legitimate him
"before the time."

Now, vulgar Chriſtian, compare this with the former declaration of Weiſhaupt, in page 140, where he appeals to the tenor of his former life, which had been ſo ſeverely ſcrutiniſed, without diminiſhing his high reputation and great influence,

ence, and his ignorance and abhorrence of all thoſe things found in Cato's repoſitories. You ſee this was a ſurpriſe—he had formerly proceeded cautiouſly—"He is the beſt man," ſays Spartacus, "who beſt conceals his faults."—He was diſappointed by Celſus, *who had promiſed him his aſſiſtance on ſuch occaſions* three years ago, during all which time he had been buſy in "form-"ing himſelf." How far he has advanced, the reader may judge.

One is curious to know what became of the poor woman: ſhe was afterwards taken to the houſe of Baron Baſſus; but here the fooliſh woman, for want of that courage which Illumination and the bright proſpect of eternal ſleep ſhould have produced, took fright at the *diſciplini arcani*, left the houſe, and in the hidden ſociety of a midwife and nurſe brought forth a young Spartacus, who now lives to thank his father for his endeavours to murder him. A "*damned prieſt*," the good Biſhop of Freyſingen, knowing the cogent reaſons, procured the diſpenſation, and Spartacus was obliged, like another dim-ſighted mortal, to marry her. The ſcandal was huſhed, and would not have been diſcovered had it not been for theſe private writings.

But Spartacus ſays (pag. 148.) "that when you "think him ſunk to the bottom, he will ſpring up "with double vigour." In a ſubſequent work, called *Short Amendment of my Plan*, he ſays, "If men "were

" were not habituated to wicked manners, his let-
" ters would be their own juſtification." He does not ſay that he is without fault; " but they are " faults of the underſtanding—not of the heart. " He had, firſt of all, to form himſelf; and this " is a work of time." In the affair of his ſiſter-in-law he admits the facts, and the attempts to deſtroy the child; " but this is far from proving " any depravity of heart. In his condition, his " honour at ſtake, what elſe was left him to do? " His greateſt enemies, the Jeſuits, have taught " that in ſuch a caſe it is lawful to make away " with the child," and he quotes authorities from their books*. " In the introductory fault he " has the example of the beſt of men. The ſecond " was its natural conſequence, it was altogether " involuntary, and, in the eye of a philoſophical " judge" (I preſume of the Gallic School) " who " does not ſquare himſelf by the harſh letters of *a* " *blood-thirſty lawgiver*, he has but a very trifling " account to ſettle. He had become a public " teacher, and was greatly followed; this ex-" ample *might have ruined many young men.* The " eyes of the Order alſo were fixed on him. The " edifice reſted on his credit; had he fallen, *he* " *could no longer have been in a condition to treat*

* This is flatly contradicted in a pamphlet by F. Stuttler, a Catholic clergyman of moſt reſpectable character, who here expoſes, in the moſt incontrovertible manner, the impious plots of Weiſhaupt, his total diſregard to truth, his counterfeit antiques, and all his lies againſt the Jeſuits.

" *the*

" *the matters of virtue ſo as to make a laſting im-*
" *preſſion.* It was chiefly his anxiety to ſupport
" the credit of the Order which determined him
" to take this ſtep. It makes *for* him, but by no
" means *againſt* him; and the perſons who are
" moſt in fault are the ſlaviſh inquiſitors, who
" have publiſhed the tranſaction, in order to make
" his character more remarkable, and to hurt the
" Order through his perſon; and they have not
" ſcrupled, for this helliſh purpoſe, to ſtir up a
" child againſt his father!!!"

I make no reflections on this very remarkable, and highly uſeful ſtory, but content myſelf with ſaying, that this juſtification by Weiſhaupt (which I have been careful to give in his own words) is the greateſt inſtance of effrontery and inſult on the ſentiments of mankind that I have ever met with. We are all ſuppoſed as completely corrupted as if we had lived under the full blaze of Illumination.

In other places of this curious correſpondence we learn that Minos, and others of the *Areopagitæ*, wanted to introduce Atheiſm at once, and not go hedging in the manner they did; affirming it was eaſier to ſhew at once that Atheiſm was friendly to ſociety, than to explain all their Maſonic Chriſtianity, which they were afterwards to ſhew to be a bundle of lies. Indeed this purpoſe, of not only aboliſhing Chriſtianity, but all poſitive religion whatever, was Weiſhaupt's favourite ſcheme from the beginning. Before he canvaſſed for his Order,

in

in 1774, he publiſhed a fictitious antique, which he called *Sidonii Apollinaris Fragmenta*, to prepare (as he expreſsly ſays in another place) mens minds for the doctrines of Reaſon, which contains all the deteſtable doctrines of Robinet's book *De la Nature*. The publication of the ſecond part was ſtopped. Weiſhaupt ſays in his APOLOGY FOR THE ILLUMINATI, that before 1780 he had retracted his opinions about Materialiſm, and about the inexpediency of Princes. But this is falſe: Philo ſays expreſsly, that every thing remained on its original footing in the whole practice and dogmas of the Order when he quitted it in July 1784. All this was concealed, and even the abominable Maſonry, in the account of the Order which Weiſhaupt publiſhed at Regenſburg; and it required the conſtant efforts of Philo to prevent bare or flat Atheiſm from being uniformly taught in their degrees. He had told the council that Zeno would not be under a roof with a man who denied the immortality of the ſoul. He complains of Minos's cramming irreligion down their throats in every meeting, and ſays, that he frightened many from entering the Order. "Truth," ſays Philo, "is a clever, but a modeſt girl, who muſt be "led by the hand like a gentlewoman, but not "kicked about like a whore." Spartacus complains much of the ſqueamiſhneſs of Philo; yet Philo is not a great deal behind him in irreligion. When deſcribing to Cato the Chriſtianity of the

Prieſt-degree, as he had manufactured it, he ſays, "It is all one whether it be true or falſe, we muſt "have it, that we may tickle thoſe who have a "hankering for religion." All the odds ſeems to be, that he was of a gentler diſpoſition, and had more deference even for the abſurd prejudices of others. In one of his angry letters to Cato he ſays: "The vanity and ſelf-conceit of "Spartacus would have got the better of all pru- "dence, had I not checked him, and prevailed on "the *Areopagitæ* but to defer the developement "of the bold principles till we had firmly ſecured "the man. I even wiſhed to entice the candidate "the more by giving him back all his former "bonds of ſecrecy, and leaving him at liberty to "walk out without fear; and I am certain that "they were, by this time, ſo engaged that we "ſhould not have loſt one man. But Spartacus "had compoſed an exhibition of his laſt princi- "ples, for a diſcourſe of reception, in which he "painted his three favourite myſterious degrees, "which were to be conferred by him alone, in "colours which had faſcinated his own fancy. "But they were the colours of hell, and would "have ſcared the moſt intrepid; and becauſe I "repreſented the danger of this, and by force "obtained the omiſſion of this picture, he be- "came my implacable enemy. I abhor treachery "and profligacy, and leave him to blow himſelf "and his Order into the air."

Accordingly

Accordingly this happened. It was this which terrified one of the four profeſſors, and made him impart his doubts to the reſt. Yet Spartacus ſeems to have profited by the apprehenſions of Philo; for in the laſt reception, he, for the firſt time, exacts a bond from the intrant, engaging himſelf for ever to the Order, and ſwearing that he will never draw back. Thus admitted, he becomes a ſure card. The courſe of his life is in the hands of the Order, and his thoughts on a thouſand dangerous points; his reports concerning his neighbours and friends; in ſhort, his honour and his neck. The Deiſt, thus led on, has not far to go before he becomes a Naturaliſt or Atheiſt; and then the eternal ſleep of death crowns all his humble hopes.

Before giving an account of the higher degrees, I ſhall juſt extract from one letter more on a ſingular ſubject.

Minos to Sebaſtian, 1782.

" The propoſal of Hercules to eſtabliſh a Mi-
" nerval ſchool for girls is excellent, but requires
" much circumſpection. Philo and I have long
" converſed on this ſubject. We cannot improve
" the world without improving women, who
" have ſuch a mighty influence on the men. But
" how ſhall we get hold of them? How will their
" relations, particularly their mothers, immerſed

" in prejudices, consent that others shall influ-
" ence their education? We must begin with
" grown girls. Hercules proposes the wife of
" Ptolemy Magus. I have no objection; and I
" have four step-daughters, fine girls. The
" oldest in particular is excellent. She is twenty-
" four, has read much, is above all prejudices,
" and in religion she thinks as I do. They have
" much acquaintance among the young ladies
" their relations (N. B. we don't know the rank
" of Minos, but as he does not use the word *Da-*
" *men*, but *Frauenzimmer*, it is probable that it
" is not high). It may immediately be a very
" pretty Society, under the management of Pto-
" lemy's wife, but really under *his* management.
" You must contrive pretty degrees, and dresses,
" and ornaments, and elegant and decent rituals.
" No man must be admitted. This will make
" them become more keen, and they will go much
" farther than if we were present, or than if they
" thought that we knew of their proceedings.
" Leave them to the scope of their own fancies,
" and they will soon invent mysteries which will
" put us to the blush, and create an enthusiasm
" which we can never equal. They will be our
" great apostles. Reflect on the respect, nay the
" awe and terror inspired by the female mystics
" of antiquity. (Think of the Daniads—think of
" the

" the Theban *Bacchantes*.) Ptolemy's wife muſt
" direct them, and ſhe will be inſtructed by Pto-
" lemy, and my ſtep-daughters will conſult with
" me. We muſt always be at hand to prevent
" the introduction of any improper queſtion.
" We muſt prepare themes for their diſcuſſion—
" thus we ſhall confeſs them, and inſpire them
" with our ſentiments. No man however muſt
" come near them. This will fire their roving
" fancies, and we may expect rare myſteries.
" But I am doubtful whether this Aſſociation
" will be durable. Women are fickle and impa-
" tient. Nothing will pleaſe them but hurrying
" from degree to degree, through a heap of in-
" ſignificant ceremonies, which will ſoon loſe
" their novelty and influence. To reſt ſeriouſly
" in one rank, and to be ſtill and ſilent when
" they have found out that the whole is a cheat,
" (hear the words of an experienced Maſon,) is
" a taſk of which they are incapable. They have
" not our motives to perſevere for years, allow-
" ing themſelves to be led about, and even then
" to hold their tongues when they find that they
" have been deceived. Nay there is a riſk that
" they may take it into their heads to give things
" an oppoſite turn, and then, by voluptuous al-
" lurements, heightened by affected modeſty and
" decency, which give them an irreſiſtible em-

" pire

" pire over the beſt men, they may turn our Or-
" der upſide down, and in their turn will lead
" the new one."

Such is the information which may be got from the private correſpondence. It is needleſs to make more extracts of every kind of vice and trick. I have taken ſuch as ſhew a little of the plan of the Order, as far as the degree of *Illuminatus Minor*, and the vile purpoſes which are concealed under all their ſpecious declamation. A very minute account is given of the plan, the ritual, ceremonies, &c. and even the inſtructions and diſcourſes, in a book called the *Achte Illuminat*, publiſhed at *Edeſſa* (Frankfurt) in 1787. Philo ſays, " that this is quite accurate, but that " he does not know the author." I proceed to give an account of their higher degrees, as they are to be ſeen in the book called *Neueſte Arbeitung des Spartacus und Philo.* And the authenticity of the accounts is atteſted by Grollman, a private gentleman of independent fortune, who read them, ſigned and ſealed by Spartacus and the *Areopagitæ.*

The ſeries of ranks and progreſs of the pupil were arranged as follows:

NURSERY, { Preparation, Novice, Minerval, Illumin. Minor.

MASONRY, { *Symbolic* { - - - - - - - Apprentice, - - - - - - - Fellow Craft, - - - - - - - Master, *Scotch* { *Illum. Major*, Scotch Novice, *Illum. dirigens*, Scotch Knight.

MYSTERIES, { Lesser { Presbyter, Priest, Prince, Regent, Greater { *Magus*, *Rex*.

The reader must be almost sick of so much villany, and would be disgusted with the minute detail, in which the cant of the Order is ringing continually in his ears. I shall therefore only give such a short extract as may fix our notions of the object of the Order, and the morality of the means employed for attaining it. We need not go back to the lower degrees, and shall begin with the *ILLUMINATUS DIRIGENS*, or SCOTCH KNIGHT.

After a short introduction, teaching us how the holy secret Chapter of Scotch Knights is assembled, we have, I. Fuller accounts and instructions relating to the whole. II. Instructions for the lower classes of Masonry. III. Instructions relating to Mason Lodges in general. IV. Account of a reception into this degree, with the bond which each subscribes before he can be admitted. V. Concerning the Solemn Chapter for reception. VI. Opening of the Chapter. VII. Ritual of Reception, and the Oath. VIII. Shutting of the Chapter. IX. *Agapé*, or Love-Feast. X. Ce-

X. Ceremonies of the conſecration of the Chapter. Appendix A, Explanation of the Symbols of Free Maſonry. B, Catechiſm for the Scotch Knight. C, Secret Cypher.

In N° I. it is ſaid that the "chief ſtudy of the "Scotch Knight is to work on all men in ſuch "a way as is moſt inſinuating. II. He muſt "endeavour to acquire the poſſeſſion of con-"ſiderable property. III. In all Maſon Lodges "we muſt try ſecretly to get the upper hand. "The Maſons do not know what Free Maſonry "is, their high objects, nor their higheſt Supe-"riors, and ſhould be directed by thoſe who will "lead them along the right road. In pre-"paring a candidate for the degree of Scotch "Knighthood, we muſt bring him into dilem-"mas by enſnaring queſtions.—We muſt endea-"vour to get the diſpoſal of the money of the "Lodges of the Free Maſons, or at leaſt take "care that it be applied to purpoſes favourable "to our Order—but this muſt be done in a way "that ſhall not be remarked. Above all, we "muſt puſh forward with all our ſkill, the plan "of Eclectic Maſonry, and for this purpoſe follow "up the circular letter already ſent to all the "Lodges with every thing that can increaſe their "preſent embarraſſment." In the bond of N° IV. the candidate binds himſelf to "conſider and "treat the Illuminati as the Superiors of Free

" Maſonry, and endeavour in all the Maſon " Lodges which he frequents, to have the Maſonry " of the Illuminated, and particularly the Scotch " Novitiate, introduced into the Lodge." (This is not very different from the Maſonry of the *Chevalier de l'Aigle* of the Roſaic Maſonry, making the Maſter's degree a ſort of commemoration of the paſſion, but without giving that character to Chriſtianity which is peculiar to Illuminatiſm.) Jeſus Chriſt is repreſented as the enemy of ſuperſtitious obſervances, and the aſſertor of the Empire of Reaſon and of Brotherly love, and his death and memory as dear to mankind. This evidently paves the way for Weiſhaupt's Chriſtianity. The Scotch Knight alſo engages " to conſider " the Superiors of the Order as the unknown " Superiors of Free Maſonry, and to contribute all " he can to their gradual union." In the Oath, N° VII. the candidate ſays, " I will never more be " a flatterer of the great, I will never be a lowly " ſervant of princes; but I will ſtrive with ſpirit, " and with addreſs, for virtue, wiſdom, and li- " berty. I will powerfully oppoſe ſuperſtition, " ſlander, and deſpotiſm; ſo that, like a true ſon " of the Order, I may ſerve the world. I will " never ſacrifice the general good, and the happi- " neſs of the world, to my private intereſt. I will " boldly defend my brother againſt ſlander, will " follow out the traces of the pure and true Reli-

" gion

" gion pointed out to me in my inſtructions, and " in the doctrines of Maſonry; and will faith- " fully report to my Superiors the progreſs I " make therein."

When he gets the ſtroke which dubs him a Knight, the Preſes ſays to him, " Now prove thy- " ſelf, by thy ability, equal to Kings, and never " from this time forward bow thy knee to one " who is, like thyſelf, but a man."

N° IX. is an account of the Love-Feaſt.

1ſt, There is a Table Lodge, opened as uſual, but in virtue of the ancient Maſter-word. Then it is ſaid, " Let moderation, fortitude, morality, " and genuine love of the Brethren, with the " overflowing of innocent and careleſs mirth " reign here." (This is almoſt verbatim from Toland.)

2d, In the middle of a bye-table is a chalice, a pot of wine, an empty plate, and a plate of unleavened bread—All is covered with a green cloth.

3d, When the Table Lodge is ended, and the Prefect ſees no obſtacle, he ſtrikes on this bye-table the ſtroke of Scotch Maſter, and his ſignal is repeated by the Senior Warden. All are ſtill and ſilent. The Prefect lifts off the cloth.

4th, The Prefect aſks, whether the Knights are in the diſpoſition to partake of the Love-Feaſt in earneſt, peace, and contentment. If none heſitates, or offers to retire, he takes the plate with the bread and ſays,

" J. of N. our Grand-Maſter, in the night in " which he was betrayed by his friends, perſecut- " ed for his love for truth, impriſoned, and con- " demned to die, aſſembled his truſty Brethren, " to celebrate his laſt Love-Feaſt—which is ſigni- " fied to us in many ways. He took bread (tak- " ing it) and broke it (breaking it) and bleſſed " it, and gave it to his diſciples, &c.—This ſhall " be the mark of our Holy Union, &c. Let " each of you examine his heart, whether love " reigns in it, and whether he, in full imitation " of our Grand-Maſter, is ready to lay down his " life for his Brethren.

" Thanks be to our Grand-Maſter, who has " appointed this feaſt as a memorial of his kind- " neſs, for the uniting of the hearts of thoſe who " love him.—Go in peace, and bleſſed be this " new Aſſociation which we have formed.— " Bleſſed be ye who remain loyal and ſtrive for " the good cauſe."

5th, The Prefect immediately cloſes the Chapter with the uſual ceremonies of the *Loge de Table*.

6th, It is to be obſerved, that no prieſt of the Order muſt be preſent at this Love-Feaſt, and that even the Brother Servitor quits the Lodge.

I muſt obſerve here, that Philo, the manufacturer of this ritual, has done it very injudiciouſly; it has no reſemblance whatever to the Love-Feaſt of the primitive Chriſtians, and is merely a copy of a ſimilar thing in one of the ſteps of French Maſonry.

Maſonry. Philo's reading in church-hiſtory was probably very ſcanty, or he truſted that the candidates would not be very nice in their examination of it, and he imagined that it would do well enough, and "tickle ſuch as had a religious "hankering." Spartacus diſliked it exceedingly —it did not accord with his ſerious conceptions, and he juſtly calls it *Jouer la Religion.*

The diſcourſe of reception is to be found alſo in the ſecret correſpondence (*Nachtrag* II. *Abtheilung*, p. 44.). But it is needleſs to inſert it here. I have given the ſubſtance of this and of all the Coſmo-political declamations already in the panegeric introduction to the account of the proceſs of education. And in Spartacus's letter, and in Philo's, I have given an abſtract of the introduction to the explanation given in this degree of the ſymbols of Free Maſonry. With reſpect to the explanation itſelf, it is as ſlovenly and wretched as can be imagined, and ſhews that Spartacus truſted to much more operative principles in the human heart for the reception of his nonſenſe than the dictates of unbiaſſed reaſon. None but promiſing ſubjects were admitted thus far—ſuch as would not boggle; and their principles were already ſufficiently apparent to aſſure him that they would be contented with any thing that made game of religion, and would be diverted by the ſerioufneſs which a chance devotee might exhibit during theſe ſilly caricatures of Chriſtianity and Free Maſonry.

But there is conſiderable addreſs in the way that Spartacus prepares his pupils for having all this mummery ſhewn in its true colours, and overturned.

"Examine, read, think on theſe ſymbols. "There are many things which one cannot find "out without a guide, nor even learn without "inſtruction. They require ſtudy and zeal. "Should you in any future period think that you "have conceived a clearer notion of them, that "you have found a paved road, declare your diſ-"coveries to your Superiors; it is thus that you "improve your mind; they expect this of you; "*they* know the true path—but will not point it "out—enough if they aſſiſt you in every approach "to it, and warn you when you recede from it. "They have even put things in your way to try "your powers of leading yourſelf through the "difficult track of diſcovery. In this proceſs the "weak head finds only child's play—the ini-"tiated finds objects of thought which language "cannot expreſs, and the thinking mind finds "food for his faculties." By ſuch forewarnings as theſe Weiſhaupt leaves room for any deviation, for any ſentiment or opinion of the individual that he may afterwards chooſe to encourage, and "to whiſper in their ear (as he expreſſes it) many "things which he did not find it prudent to inſert "in a printed compend."

But

But all the principles and aim of Spartacus and of his Order are moſt diſtinctly ſeen in the third or Myſtery Claſs. I proceed therefore to give ſome account of it. By the Table it appears to have two degrees, the Leſſer and the Greater Myſteries, each of which have two departments, one relating chiefly to Religion and the other to Politics.

The Prieſt's degree contains, 1. an Introduction. 2. Further Accounts of the Reception into this degree. 3. What is called Inſtruction in the Third Chamber, which the candidate muſt read over. 4. The Ritual of Reception. 5. Inſtruction for the Firſt Degree of the Prieſt's Claſs, called *Inſtructio in Scientificis*. 6. Account of the Conſecration of a Dean, the Superior of this Lower Order of Prieſts.

The Regent degree contains, 1. Directions to the Provincial concerning the diſpenſation of this degree. 2. Ritual of Reception. 3. Syſtem of Direction for the whole Order. 4. Inſtruction for the whole Regent degree. 5. Inſtruction for the Prefects or Local Superiors. 6. Inſtruction for the Provincials.

The moſt remarkable thing in the Prieſt's degree is the Inſtruction in the Third Chamber. It is to be found in the private correſpondence (*Nachtrage Original Schriften* 1787, 2d *Abtheilung*, page 44.). There it has the title

Diſcourſe

Diſcourſe to the Illuminati Dirigentes, or Scotch Knights. In the critical hiſtory, which is annexed to the *Neueſte Arbeitung*, there is an account given of the reaſon for this denomination; and notice is taken of ſome differences between the inſtructions here contained and that diſcourſe.

This inſtruction begins with ſore complaints of the low condition of the human race; and the cauſes are deduced from religion and ſtate-government. "Men originally led a patriarchal "life, in which every father of a family was "the ſole lord of his houſe and his property, "while he himſelf poſſeſſed general freedom and "equality. But they ſuffered themſelves to be "oppreſſed—gave themſelves up to civil ſocieties, "and formed ſtates. Even by this they fell; and "this is the fall of man, by which they were "thruſt into unſpeakable miſery. To get out of "this ſtate, to be freed and born again, there "is no other mean than the uſe of pure Reaſon, "by which a general morality may be eſtabliſhed, "which will put man in a condition to govern "himſelf, regain his original worth, and diſ-"penſe with all political ſupports, and particularly "with rulers. This can be done in no other way "but by ſecret aſſociations, which will by de-"grees, and in ſilence, poſſeſs themſelves of the "government of the States, and make uſe of "thoſe means for this purpoſe which the wicked

"uſe

" uſe for attaining their baſe ends. Princes and " Prieſts are in particular, and κατ' εξοχην, the " wicked, whoſe hands we muſt tie up by means " of theſe aſſociations, if we cannot root them " out altogether.

" Kings are parents. The paternal power " ceaſes with the incapacity of the child; and " the father injures his child, if he pretends to " retain his right beyond this period. When a " nation comes of age, their ſtate of wardſhip is " at an end."

Here follows a long declamation againſt patriotiſm, as a narrow-minded principle when compared with true Coſmo-politiſm. Nobles are repreſented as " a race of men that ſerve not the na- " tion but the Prince, whom a hint from the So- " vereign ſtirs up againſt the nation, who are re- " tained ſervants and miniſters of deſpotiſm, and " the mean for oppreſſing national liberty. Kings " are accuſed of a tacit convention, under the " flattering appellation of the balance of power, " to keep nations in ſubjection.

" The means to regain Reaſon her rights—to " raiſe liberty from its aſhes—to reſtore to man " his original rights—to produce the previous re- " volution in the mind of man—to obtain an " eternal victory over oppreſſors—and to work " the redemption of mankind, are ſecret ſchools " of wiſdom. When the worthy have ſtrengthen- " ed their aſſociation by numbers, they are ſecure,

" and

" and then they begin to become powerful, and " terrible to the wicked, of whom many will, for " ſafety, amend themſelves—many will come " over to our party, and we ſhall bind the hands " of the reſt, and finally conquer them. Who- " ever ſpreads general Illumination, augments " mutual ſecurity; Illumination and ſecurity " make princes unneceſſary; Illumination per- " forms this by creating an effective Morality, " and Morality makes a nation of full age fit to " govern itſelf; and ſince it is not impoſſible to " produce a juſt Morality, it is poſſible to regain " freedom for the world."

" We muſt therefore ſtrengthen our band, " and eſtabliſh a legion, which ſhall reſtore the " rights of man, original liberty and independ- " ence.

" Jeſus Chriſt"—but I am ſick of all this. The following queſtions are put to the candidate:

1. " Are our civil conditions in the world the " deſtinations that ſeem to be the end of our na- " ture, or the purpoſes for which man was placed " on this earth, or are they not? Do ſtates, civil " obligations, popular religion, fulfil the inten- " tions of men who eſtabliſhed them? Do ſecret " aſſociations promote inſtruction and true hu- " man happineſs, or are they the children of ne- " ceſſity, of the multifarious wants, of unnatural " conditions, or the inventions of vain and cun- " ning men?"

2. " What

2. " What civil affociation, what ſcience do you " think to the purpoſe, and what are not?"

3. " Has there ever been any other in the " world, is there no other more ſimple condition, " and what do you think of it?"

4. " Does it appear poſſible, after having gone " through all the nonentities of our civil conſti- " tutions, to recover for once our firſt ſimplicity, " and get back to this honourable uniformity?"

5. " How can one begin this noble attempt; " by means of open ſupport, by forcible revolu- " tion, or by what other way?"

6. " Does Chriſtianity give us any hint to this " purpoſe? Does it not recogniſe ſuch a bleſſed " condition as once the lot of man, and as ſtill " recoverable?"

7. " But is this holy religion the religion that " is now profeſſed by any ſect on earth, or is it a " better?"

8. " Can we learn this religion—can the world, " as it is, bear the light? Do you think that it " would be of ſervice, before numerous obſta- " cles are removed, if we taught men this puri- " fied religion, ſublime philoſophy, and the art " of governing themſelves? Or would not this " hurt, by rouſing the intereſted paſſions of men " habituated to prejudices, who would oppoſe " this as wicked?"

9. " May it not be more adviſable to do away " theſe corruptions by little and little, in ſilence,

" and for this purpoſe to propagate theſe ſalutary " and heart-conſoling doctrines in ſecret?"

10. " Do we not perceive traces of ſuch a ſecret " doctrine in the ancient ſchools of philoſophy, " in the doctrines and inſtructions of the Bible, " which Chriſt, the Redeemer and Deliverer of " the human race, gave to his truſty diſciples?— " Do you not obſerve an education, proceeding " by ſteps of this kind, handed down to us from " his time till the preſent?"

In the ceremonial of Reception, crowns and ſcepters are repreſented as tokens of human degradation. " The plan of operation, by which " our higher degrees act, muſt work powerfully " on the world, and muſt give another turn to all " our preſent conſtitutions."

Many other queſtions are put to the pupil during his preparation, and his anſwers are given in writing. Some of theſe reſcripts are to be found in the ſecret correſpondence. Thus, " How far " is the poſition true, that all thoſe means may " be uſed for a good purpoſe which the wicked " have employed for a bad?" And along with this queſtion there is an injunction to take counſel from the opinions and conduct of the learned and worthy out of the ſociety. In one of the anſwers, the example of a great philoſopher and Coſmopolite is adduced, who betrayed a private correſpondence entruſted to him, for the ſervice of freedom: the caſe was Dr. Franklin's. In another,

the power of the Order was extended to the putting the individual to death; and the reaſon given was, that "this power was allowed to all "Sovereignties, for the good of the State, and "therefore belonged to the Order, which was "to govern the world."——"N. B. We muſt "acquire the direction of education—of church-"management—of the profeſſorial chair, and of "the pulpit. We muſt bring our opinions into "faſhion by every art—ſpread them among the "people by the help of young writers. We muſt "preach the warmeſt concern for humanity, and "*make people indifferent to all other relations.* "We muſt take care that our writers be well "puffed, and that the Reviewers do not depre-"ciate them; therefore we muſt endeavour by "every mean to gain over the Reviewers and "Journaliſts; and we muſt alſo try to gain the "bookſellers, who in time will ſee that it is their "intereſt to ſide with us."

I conclude this account of the degree of Preſbyter with remarking, that there were two copies of it employed occaſionally. In one of them all the moſt offenſive things in reſpect of church and ſtate were left out. The ſame thing was done in the degree of *Chevalier du Soleil* of the French Maſonry. I have ſeen three different forms.

In the Regent degree, the proceedings and inſtructions are conducted in the ſame manner. Here,

Here, it is ſaid, " We muſt as much as poſſible " ſelect for this degree perſons who are free, " independent of all princes; particularly ſuch " as have frequently declared themſelves diſcon- " tented with the uſual inſtitutions, and their " wiſhes to ſee a better government eſtabliſhed."

Catching queſtions are put to the candidate for this degree; ſuch as,

1. " Would the ſociety be objectionable " which ſhould (till the greater revolution of " nature ſhould be ripe) put monarchs and " rulers out of the condition to do harm; which " ſhould in ſilence prevent the abuſe of power, " by ſurrounding the great with its members, " and thus not only prevent their doing miſ- " chief, but even make them do good?"

2. " Is not the objection unjuſt, That ſuch a " Society may abuſe its power? Do not our " rulers frequently abuſe their power, though " we are ſilent? This power is not ſo ſecure as " in the hands of our Members, whom we train " up with ſo much care, and place about princes " after mature deliberation and choice. If any " government can be harmleſs which is erected " by man, ſurely it muſt be ours, which is " founded on morality, foreſight, talents, li- " berty, and virtue," &c.

The candidate is preſented for reception in the character of a ſlave; and it is demanded of him what has brought him into this moſt miſerable

of

of all conditions. He anſwers—Society—the State—Submiſſiveneſs—Falſe Religion. A ſkeleton is pointed out to him, at the feet of which are laid a Crown and a Sword. He is aſked, whether that is the ſkeleton of a King, a Nobleman, or a Beggar? As he cannot decide, the Preſident of the meeting ſays to him, "the cha-"racter of being a Man is the only one that is of "importance."

In a long declamation on the hackneyed topics, we have here and there ſome thoughts which have not yet come before us.

"We muſt allow the underlings to imagine, "(but without telling them the truth,) that we "direct all the Free Maſon Lodges, and even "all other Orders, and that the greateſt mo-"narchs are under our guidance, which indeed "is here and there the caſe.

"There is no way of influencing men ſo "powerfully as by means of the women. Theſe "ſhould therefore be our chief ſtudy; we ſhould "inſinuate ourſelves into their good opinion, "give them hints of emancipation from the ty-"ranny of public opinion, and of ſtanding up for "themſelves; it will be an immenſe relief to "their enſlaved minds to be freed from any one "bond of reſtraint, and it will fire them the "more, and cauſe them to work for us with zeal,

" without knowing that they do ſo; for they " will only be indulging their own deſire of per- " ſonal admiration.

" We muſt win the common people in every " corner. This will be obtained chiefly by " means of the ſchools, and by open, hearty " behaviour, ſhow, condeſcenſion, popularity, " and toleration of their prejudices, which we " ſhall at leiſure root out and diſpel.

" If a writer publiſhes any thing that attracts " notice, and is in itſelf juſt, but does not ac- " cord with our plan, we muſt endeavour to " win him over, or decry him.

" A chief object of our care muſt be to keep " down that ſlaviſh veneration for princes which " ſo much diſgraces all nations. Even in the " *ſoi-diſant* free England, the ſilly Monarch ſays, " We are graciouſly pleaſed, and the more " ſimple people ſay, Amen. Theſe men, com- " monly very weak heads, are only the farther " corrupted by this ſervile flattery. But let us at " once give an example of our ſpirit by our be- " haviour with Princes; we muſt avoid all fami- " liarity—never entruſt ourſelves to them—be- " have with preciſion, but with civility, as to " other men—ſpeak of them on an equal footing " —this will in time teach them that they are " by nature men, if they have ſenſe and ſpirit,

" and

" and that only by convention they are Lords. " We muſt aſſiduouſly collect anecdotes, and the " honourable and mean actions, both of the " leaſt and the greateſt; and when their names " occur in any records which are read in our " meetings, let them ever be accompanied by " theſe marks of their real worth.

" The great ſtrength of our Order lies in its " concealment; let it never appear in any place " in its own name, but always covered by an- " other name, and another occupation. *None* " *is fitter than the three lower degrees of Free Ma-* " *ſonry; the public is accuſtomed to it; expects* " *little from it, and therefore takes little notice* " *of it.* Next to this the form of a learned or " literary ſociety is beſt ſuited to our purpoſe, " and had Free Maſonry not exiſted, this cover " would have been employed; and it may be " much more than a cover, *it may be a power-* " *ful engine in our hands. By eſtabliſhing reading* " *ſocieties, and ſubſcription libraries, and taking* " *theſe under our direction, and ſupplying them* " *through our labours, we may turn the public* " *mind which way we will.*

" In like manner we muſt try to obtain an in- " fluence in the military academies, (this may be " of mighty conſequence,) the printing-houſes, " bookſellers ſhops, chapters, and in ſhort in all " offices which have any effect, either in form- " ing, or in managing, or even in directing the

" mind of man: painting and engraving are " highly worth our care *."

" Could our Prefect" (obſerve it is to the *Illuminati Regentes* he is ſpeaking, whoſe officers are *Prefecti*) " fill the judicatories of a ſtate with our " worthy members, he does all that man can do " for the Order. It is better than to gain the " Prince himſelf. Princes ſhould never get be- " yond the Scotch knighthood. They either " never profecute any thing, or they twiſt every " thing to their own advantage.

" A Literary Society is the moſt proper form " for the introduction of our Order into any ſtate " where we are yet ſtrangers." (Mark this!)

" The power of the Order muſt ſurely be turned " to the advantage of its Members. All muſt be " aſſiſted. They muſt be preferred to all perſons " otherwiſe of equal merit. Money, ſervices, " honour, goods, and blood, muſt be expended for " the fully proved Brethren, and the unforunate " muſt be relieved by the funds of the Society."

As evidence that this was not only their inſtructions, but alſo their aſſiduous practice, take the following report from the overſeer of Greece (Bavaria).

* (They were ſtrongly ſuſpected of having publiſhed ſome ſcandalous caricatures, and ſome very immoral prints.) They ſcrupled at no mean, however baſe, for corrupting the nation. Mirabeau had done the ſame thing at Berlin. By political caricatures and filthy prints, they corrupt even ſuch as cannot read.

In

In Cato's hand-writing.

" The number (about 600) of Members re-
" lates to Bavaria alone.

" In Munich there is a well-conſtituted meet-
" ing of *Illuminati Majores*, a meeting of excel-
" lent *Illuminati Minores*, a reſpectable Grand
" Lodge, and two Minerval Aſſemblies. There
" is a Minerval Aſſembly at Freyſſing, at Landſ-
" berg, at Burghauſen, at Straſburg, at Ingol-
" ſtadt, and at laſt at Regenſburg *.

" At Munich we have bought a houſe, and
" by clever meaſures have brought things ſo far,
" that the citizens take no notice of it, and even
" ſpeak of us with eſteem. We can openly go
" to the houſe every day, and carry on the buſi-
" neſs of the Lodge. This is a great deal for
" this city. In the houſe is a good muſeum of
" natural hiſtory, and apparatus for experiments:
" alſo a library which daily increaſes. The
" garden is well occupied by botanic ſpeci-
" mens, and the whole has the appearance of a
" ſociety of zealous naturaliſts.

" We get all the literary journals. We take
" care, by well-timed pieces, to make the citi-
" zens and the Princes a little more noticed for

* In this ſmall *turbulent* city there were eleven ſecret ſocieties of Maſons, Roſycrucians, Clair-voyants, &c.

" certain little ſlips. We oppoſe the monks " with all our might, and with great ſucceſs.

" The Lodge is conſtituted entirely according " to our ſyſtem, and has broken off entirely " from Berlin, and we have nearly finiſhed our " tranſactions with the Lodges of Poland, and " ſhall have them under our direction.

" By the activity of our Brethren, the Jeſuits " have been kept out of all the profeſſorial " chairs at Ingolſtadt, and our friends prevail."

" The Widow Ducheſs has ſet up her aca- " demy entirely according to our plan, and we " have all the Profeſſors in the Order. Five of " them are excellent, and the pupils will be pre- " pared for us.

" We have got Pylades put at the head of the " Fiſc, and he has the church-money at his " diſpoſal. By properly uſing this money, we " have been enabled to put our Brother ——'s " houſehold in good order; which he had de- " ſtroyed by going to the Jews. We have ſup- " ported more Brethren under ſimilar misfor- " tunes.

" Our Ghoſtly Brethren have been very for- " tunate this laſt year, for we have procured for " them ſeveral good benefices, pariſhes, tutor- " ſhips, &c.

" Through our means Arminius and Cortez " have gotten Profeſſorſhips, and many of our

" younger Brethren have obtained Burſaries by " our help.

" We have been very ſucceſsful againſt the " Jeſuits, and brought things to ſuch a bearing, " that their revenues, ſuch as the Miſſion, the " Golden Alms, the Exerciſes, and the Conver- " ſion Box, are now under the management of " our friends. So are alſo their concerns in " the univerſity and the German ſchool founda- " tions. The application of all will be deter- " mined preſently, and we have ſix members " and four friends in the Court. This has coſt " our ſenate ſome nights want of ſleep.

" Two of our beſt youths have got journies " from the Court, and they will go to Vienna, " where they will do us great ſervice.

" All the German Schools, and the Benevo- " lent Society, are at laſt under our direction.

" We have got ſeveral zealous members in " the courts of juſtice, and we are able to afford " them pay, and other good additions.

" Lately, we have got poſſeſſion of the Bar- " tholomew Inſtitution for young clergymen, " having ſecured all its ſupporters. Through " this we ſhall be able to ſupply Bavaria with fit " prieſts.

" By a letter from Philo we learn, that one " of the higheſt dignities in the church was ob- " tained for a zealous Illuminatus, in oppoſition

" even to the authority and right of the Biſhop " of Spire, who is repreſented as a bigoted and " tyrannical prieſt."

Such were the leſſer myſteries of the Illuminati. But there remain the higher myſteries. The ſyſtem of theſe has not been printed, and the degrees were conferred only by Spartacus himſelf, from papers which he never entruſted to any perſon. They were only read to the candidate, but no copy was taken. The publiſher of the *Neueſte Arbeitung* ſays that he has read them (ſo ſays Grollman). He ſays, " that in the firſt degree of " MAGUS or PHILOSOPHUS, the doctrines are the " ſame with thoſe of Spinoza, where all is mate- " rial, God and the world are the ſame thing, and " all religion whatever is without foundation, and " the contrivance of ambitious men." The ſecond degree, or REX, teaches, " that every pea- " ſant, citizen, and houſeholder is a ſovereign, as " in the Patriarchal ſtate, and that nations muſt " be brought back to that ſtate, by whatever " means are conducible—peaceably, if it can be " done; but, if not, then by force—for all ſubor- " dination muſt vaniſh from the face of the earth."

The author ſays further, that the German Union was, to his certain knowledge, the work of the Illuminati.

The private correſpondence that has been publiſhed is by no means the whole of what was diſcovered

diſcovered at Landſhut and Baſſus Hoff, and government got a great deal of uſeful information, which was concealed, both out of regard to the families of the perſons concerned, and alſo that the reſt might not know the utmoſt extent of the diſcovery, and be leſs on their guard. A third collection was found under the foundation of the houſe in which the Lodge *Theodor vom guten Rath* had been held. But none of this has appeared. Enough ſurely has been diſcovered to give the public a very juſt idea of the deſigns of the Society and its connections.

Lodges were diſcovered, and are mentioned in the private papers already publiſhed, in the following places.

Munich	Weſtphalia (ſeveral)
Ingoldſtadt	Heidelberg
Frankfort	Mannheim
Echſtadt	Straſburgh (5)
Hanover	Spire
Brunſwick	Worms
Calbe	Duſſeldorff
Magdeburgh	Cologne
Caſſel	Bonn (4)
Oſnabruck	Livonia (many)
Weimar	Courland (many)
Upper Saxony (ſeveral)	Frankendahl
Auſtria (14)	Alſace (many)

Vienna

Vienna (4)	Deuxponts
Heſſe (many)	Couſel
Buchenwerter	Treves (2)
Mompeliard	Aix-la-Chapelle (2)
Stutgard (3)	Bartſchied
Carlſruhe	Hahrenberg
Anſpach	Switzerland (many)
Neuwied (2)	Rome
Mentz (2)	Naples
Poland (many)	Ancona
Turin	Florence
England (8)	France
Scotland (2)	Holland (many)
Warſaw (2)	Dreſden (4)

America (ſeveral). N. B. This was before 1786.

I have picked up the names of the following members.

Spartacus,	Weiſhaupt, Profeſſor.
Philo,	Knigge, Freyherr, i. e. Gentleman.
Amelius,	Bode, F. H.
Bayard,	Buſche, F. H.
Diomedes,	Conſtanza, Marq.
Cato,	Zwack, Lawyer.
	Torring, Count.
	Khreitmaier, Prince.
	Utſchneider, Profeſſor.
	Coſſandey, Profeſſor.
	Renner, Profeſſor.

Grunberger,

	Grunberger, Profeſſor.
	Balderbuſch, F. H.
	Lippert, Counſellor.
	Kundl, ditto.
	Bart, ditto.
	Leiberhauer, Prieſt.
	Kundler, Profeſſor.
	Lowling, Profeſſor.
	Vachency, Counſellor.
	Morauſky, Count.
	Hoffſtetter, Surveyor of Roads.
	Strobl, Bookſeller.
Pythagoras,	Weſtenrieder, Profeſſor.
	Babo, Profeſſor.
	Baader, Profeſſor.
	Burzes, Prieſt.
	Pfruntz, Prieſt.
Hannibal,	Baſſus, Baron.
Brutus,	Savioli, Count.
Lucian,	Nicholai, Bookſeller.
	Bahrdt, Clergyman.
Zoroaſter, Confucius,	Baierhamer.
Hermes Triſmegiſtus,	Socher, School Inſpector.
	Dillis, Abbé.
Sulla,	Meggenhoff, Paymaſter.
	Danzer, Canon.
	Braun, ditto.

Fiſcher,

	Fiſcher, Magiſtrate.
	Frauenberger, Baron.
	Kaltner, Lieutenant.
Pythagoras, (2d,)	Drexl, Librarian.
Marius,	Hertel, Canon.
	Dachſel.
	Dilling, Counſellor.
	Seefeld, Count.
	Gunſheim, ditto.
	Morgellan, ditto.
Saladin,	Ecker, ditto.
	Ow, Major.
	Werner, Counſellor.
Cornelius Scipio.	Berger, ditto.
	Wortz, Apothecary.
	Mauvillon, Colonel.
	Mirabeau, Count.
	Orleans, Duke.
	Hochinaer.
Tycho Brahe,	Gaſpar, Merchant.
Thales,	Kapfinger.
Attila,	Sauer.
Ludovicus Bavarus,	Loſi.
Shafteſbury,	Steger.
Coriolanus,	Tropponero, Zuſchwartz.
Timon,	Michel.
Tamerlane,	Lange.
Livius,	Badorffer.

Cicero,

Cicero,	Pfeſt.
Ajax,	Maſſenhauſen, Count.

I have not been able to find who perſonated Minos, Euriphon, Celſius, Mahomet, Hercules, Socrates, Philippo Strozzi, Euclides, and ſome others who have been uncommonly active in carrying forward the great cauſe.

The chief publications for giving us regular accounts of the whole, (beſides the original writings,) are,

1. *Groſſe Abſicht des Illuminaten Ordens.*
2. ——*Nachtrages* (3.) *an denſelben.*
3. *Weiſhaupt's improved Syſtem.*
4. *Syſtem des Illum. Ordens aus dem Originalſchriften gezogen.*

I may now be permitted to make a few reflections on the accounts already given of this Order, which has ſo diſtinctly concentrated the caſual and ſcattered efforts of its prompters, the *Chevaliers Bienfaiſants*, the *Philalethes*, and *Amis Reunis* of France, and carried on the ſyſtem of enlightening and reforming the world.

The great aim profeſſed by the Order is to *make men happy;* and the means profeſſed to be employed, as the only and ſurely effective, is *making them good;* and this is to be brought about by *enlightening the mind*, and *freeing it from the dominion of ſuperſtition and prejudices.* This purpoſe is effected

fected by its *producing a juſt and ſteady morality*. This done, and becoming univerſal, there can be little doubt but that the peace of ſociety will be the conſequence,—that government, ſubordination, and all the diſagreeable coercions of civil governments will be unneceſſary,—and that ſociety may go on peaceably in a ſtate of perfect liberty and equality.

But ſurely it requires no angel from heaven to tell us that if every man is virtuous, there will be no vice; and that there will be peace on earth, and good-will between man and man, whatever be the differences of rank and fortune; ſo that Liberty and Equality ſeem not to be the neceſſary conſequences of this juſt Morality, nor neceſſary requiſites for this national happineſs. We may queſtion, therefore, whether the Illumination which makes this a neceſſary condition is a clear and a pure light. It may be a falſe glare ſhowing the object only on one ſide, tinged with partial colours thrown on it by neighbouring objects. We ſee ſo much wiſdom in the general plans of nature, that we are apt to think that there is the ſame in what relates to the human mind, and that the God of nature accompliſhes his plans in this as well as in other inſtances. We are even diſpoſed to think that human nature would ſuffer by it. The rational nature of man is not contented with meat and drink, and raiment, and ſhelter, but is alſo

pleaſed

pleaſed with exerting many powers and faculties, and with gratifying many taſtes, which could hardly have exiſtence in a ſociety where all are equal. We ſay that there can be no doubt but that the pleaſure ariſing from the contemplation of the works of art—the pleaſure of intellectual cultivation, the pleaſure of mere ornament, are rational, diſtinguiſh man from a brute, and are ſo general, that there is hardly a mind ſo rude as not to feel them. Of all theſe, and of all the difficult ſciences, all moſt rational, and in themſelves moſt innocent, and moſt delightful to a cultivated mind, we ſhould be deprived in a ſociety where all are equal. No individual could give employment to the talents neceſſary for creating and improving theſe ornamental comforts of life. We are abſolutely certain that, even in the moſt favourable ſituations on the face of the earth, the moſt untainted virtue in every breaſt could not raiſe man to that degree of cultivation that is poſſeſſed by citizens very low in any of the ſtates of Europe; and in the ſituation of moſt countries we are acquainted with, the ſtate of man would be much lower: for, at our very ſetting out, we muſt grant that the liberty and equality here ſpoken of muſt be complete; for there muſt not be ſuch a thing as a farmer and his cottager. This would be as unjuſt, as much the cauſe of diſcontent, as the gentleman and the farmer.

This

This ſcheme therefore ſeems contrary to the deſigns of our Creator, who has every where placed us in thoſe ſituations of inequality that are here ſo much reprobated, and has given us ſtrong propenſities by which we reliſh thoſe enjoyments. We alſo find that they may be enjoyed in peace and innocence. And laſtly, we imagine that the villain, who, in the ſtation of a profeſſor, would plunder a Prince, would alſo plunder the farmer if he were his cottager. The Illumination therefore that appears to have the beſt chance of making mankind happy is that which will teach us the Morality which will reſpect the comforts of cultivated Society, and teach us to protect the poſſeſſors in the innocent enjoyment of them; that will enable us to perceive and admire the taſte and elegance of Architecture and Gardening, without any wiſh to ſweep the palaces, the gardens, and their owner, from off the earth, merely becauſe he is their owner.

We are therefore ſuſpicious of this Illumination, and apt to aſcribe this violent antipathy to Princes and ſubordination to the very cauſe that makes true Illumination, and juſt Morality proceeding from it, ſo neceſſary to public happineſs, namely, the vice and injuſtice of thoſe who cannot innocently have the command of thoſe offenſive elegancies of human life. Luxurious taſte, keen deſires, and unbridled paſſions, would

prompt

prompt to all this; and this Illumination is, as we see, equivalent to them in effect. The aim of the Order is not to enlighten the mind of man, and shew him his moral obligations, and by the practice of his duties to make society peaceable, possession secure, and coercion unnecessary, so that all may be at rest and happy, even though all *were* equal; but to get rid of the coercion which must be employed in the place of Morality, that the innocent rich may be robbed with impunity by the idle and profligate poor. But to do this, an unjust casuistry must be employed instead of a just Morality; and this must be defended or suggested, by misrepresenting the true state of man, and of his relation to the universe, and by removing the restrictions of religion, and giving a superlative value to all those constituents of human enjoyment, which true Illumination shews us to be but very small concerns of a rational and virtuous mind. The more closely we examine the principles and practice of the Illuminati, the more clearly do we perceive that this is the case. Their first and immediate aim is to get the possession of riches, power, and influence, without industry; and, to accomplish this, they want to abolish Christianity; and then dissolute manners and universal profligacy will procure them the adherence of all the wicked, and enable them to overturn all the civil governments of

Europe; after which they will think of farther conqueſts, and extend their operations to the other quarters of the globe, till they have reduced mankind to the ſtate of one undiſtinguiſhable chaotic maſs.

But this is too chimerical to be thought their real aim. Their Founder, I dare ſay, never entertained ſuch hopes, nor troubled himſelf with the fate of diſtant lands. But it comes in his way when he puts on the maſk of humanity and benevolence: it muſt embrace all mankind, only becauſe it muſt be ſtronger than patriotiſm and loyalty, which ſtand in his way. Obſerve that Weiſhaupt took a name expreſſive of his principles. Spartacus was a gladiator, who headed an inſurrection of Roman ſlaves, and for three years kept the city in terror. Weiſhaupt ſays in one of his letters, "I "never was fond of empty titles; but ſurely that "man has a childiſh ſoul who would not as rea- "dily chuſe the name of Spartacus as that of Oc- "tavius Auguſtus." The names which he gives to ſeveral of his gang expreſs their differences of ſentiments. Philo, Lucian, and others, are very ſignificantly given to Knigge, Nicholai, &c. He was vain of the name Spartacus, becauſe he conſidered himſelf as employed ſomewhat in the ſame way, leading ſlaves to freedom. Princes and Prieſts are mentioned by him on all occaſions in terms of abhorrence.

Spartacus

Spartacus employs powerful means. In the ſtyle of the Jeſuits, (as he ſays,) he conſiders every mean as conſecrated by the end for which it is employed, and he ſays with great truth,

" *Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos, Acheronta movebo.*"

To ſave his reputation, he ſcruples not to murder his innocent child, and the woman whom he had held in his arms with emotions of fondneſs and affection. But leſt this ſhould appear too ſelfiſh a motive, he ſays, " Had I fallen, my " precious Order would have fallen with me; " the Order which is to bleſs mankind. I ſhould " not again have been able to ſpeak of virtue " ſo as to make any laſting impreſſion. My ex- " ample might have ruined many young men." This he thinks will excuſe, nay ſanctify any thing. " My letters are my greateſt vindication." He employs the Chriſtian Religion, which he thinks a falſehood, and which he is afterwards to explode, as the mean for inviting Chriſtians of every denomination, and gradually cajoling them, by clearing up their Chriſtian doubts in ſucceſſion, till he lands them in Deiſm; or if he finds them unfit, and too religious, he gives them a *Sta bene*, and then laughs at the fears, or perhaps madneſs, in which he leaves them. Having got them the length of Deiſm, they are declared to be fit, and he receives them into the higher myſteries. But leſt they ſhould ſtill ſhrink back, dazzled by

the Pandemonian glare of Illumination which will now burſt upon them, he exacts from them, for the firſt time, a bond of perſeverance. But, as Philo ſays, there is little chance of tergiverſation. The life and honour of moſt of the candidates are by this time in his hand. They have been long occupied in the vile and corrupting office of ſpies on all around them, and they are found fit for their preſent honours, becauſe they have diſcharged this office to his ſatisfaction, by the reports which they have given in, containing ſtories of their neighbours, nay even of their own gang. They may be ruined in the world by diſcloſing theſe, either privately or publicly. A man who had once brought himſelf into this perilous ſituation durſt not go back. He might have been left indeed in any degree of Illumination; and, if Religion has not been quite eradicated from his mind, he muſt be in that condition of painful anxiety and doubt that makes him deſperate, fit for the full operation of fanaticiſm, and he may be engaged, *in the cauſe of God*, "to commit all kind "of wickedneſs with greedineſs." In this ſtate of mind, a man ſhuts his eyes, and ruſhes on. Had Spartacus ſuppoſed that he was dealing with good men, his conduct would have been the reverſe of all this. There is no occaſion for this bond from a perſon convinced of the excellency of the Order. But he knew them to be unprincipled,

cipled, and that the higher myſteries were ſo daring, that even ſome of ſuch men would ſtart at them. But they muſt not blab.

Having thus got rid of Religion, Spartacus could with more ſafety bring into view the great aim of all his efforts—to rule the world by means of his Order. As the immediate mean for attaining this, he holds out the proſpect of freedom from civil ſubordination. Perfect Liberty and Equality are interwoven with every thing; and the flattering thought is continually kept up, that "by the wiſe contrivance of this Order, the moſt "complete knowledge is obtained of the real "worth of every perſon; the Order will, *for its* "*own ſake*, and therefore *certainly*, place every "man in that ſituation in which he can be moſt "effective. The pupils are convinced that the "Order *will* rule the world. Every member "therefore becomes a ruler." We all think ourſelves qualified to rule. The difficult taſk is to obey with propriety; but we are honeſtly generous in our proſpects of future command. It is therefore an alluring thought, both to good and bad men. By this lure the Order will ſpread. If they are active in inſinuating their members into offices, and in keeping out others, (which the private correſpondence ſhews to have been the caſe,) they may have had frequent experience of their ſucceſs in gaining an influence on the world.

This muſt whet their zeal. If Weiſhaupt was a ſincere Comſo-polite, he had the pleaſure of ſeeing " his work proſpering in his hands."

It ſurely needs little argument now to prove, that the Order of Illuminati had for its immediate object the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity, (at leaſt this was the intention of the Founder,) with the ſole view of overturning the civil government, by introducing univerſal diſſoluteneſs and profligacy of manners, and then getting the aſſiſtance of the corrupted ſubjects to overſet the throne. The whole conduct in the preparation and inſtruction of the Preſbyter and *Regens* is directed to this point. Philo ſays, " I have been at unwearied " pains to remove the fears of ſome who imagine " that our Superiors want to aboliſh Chriſtianity; " but by and by their prejudices will wear off, " and they will be more at their eaſe. Were I " to let them know that our General holds all " Religion to be a lie, and uſes even Deiſm, only " to lead men by the noſe—Were I to connect " myſelf again with the Free Maſons, and tell " them our deſigns to ruin their Fraternity by " this circular letter (a letter to the Lodge in " Courland)—Were I but to give the leaſt hint " to any of the Princes of Greece (Bavaria)—No, " my anger ſhall not carry me ſo far.—An Order, " forſooth, which in this manner abuſes human " nature—which will ſubject men to a bondage

" more

" more intolerable than Jeſuitiſm—I could put " it on a reſpectable footing, and the world would " be ours. Should I mention our fundamental " principles, (even after all the pains I have been " at to mitigate them,) ſo unqueſtionably danger- " ous to the world, who would remain? What " ſignifies the innocent ceremonies of the Prieſt's " degree, as I have compoſed it, in compariſon " with your maxim, that we may uſe for a good " end thoſe means which the wicked employ for " a baſe purpoſe?"

Brutus writes, " Numenius now acquieſces in " the mortality of the ſoul; but, I fear we ſhall " loſe Ludovicus Bavarus. He told Spartacus, " that he was miſtaken when he thought that he " had ſwallowed his ſtupid Maſonry. No, he ſaw " the trick, and did not admire the end that re- " quired it. I don't know what to do; a *Sta* " *bene* would make him mad, and he will blow " us all up.

" The Order muſt poſſeſs the power of life and " death in conſequence of our Oath; and with " propriety, for the ſame reaſon, and by the ſame " right, that any government in the world poſ- " ſeſſes it: for the Order comes in their place, " making them unneceſſary. When things can- " not be otherwiſe, and ruin would enſue if the " Aſſociation did not employ this mean, the " Order muſt, as well as public rulers, employ

" it for the good of mankind; therefore for its " own preſervation." (N. B. Obſerve here the caſuiſtry.) " Nor will the political conſtitutions " ſuffer by this, for there are always thouſands " equally ready and able to ſupply the place."

We need not wonder that Diomedes told the Profeſſors, " that death, inevitable death, from " which no potentate could protect them, awaited " every traitor of the Order;" nor that the French Convention propoſed to take off the German Princes and Generals by ſword or poiſon, &c.

Spartacus might tickle the fancy of his Order with the notion of ruling the world; but I imagine that his own immediate object was ruling the Order. The happineſs of mankind was, like Weiſhaupt's Chriſtianity, a mere tool, a tool which the *Regentes* made a joke of. But Spartacus would rule the *Regentes*; this he could not ſo eaſily accompliſh. His deſpotiſm was inſupportable to moſt of them, and finally brought all to light. When he could not perſuade them by his own firmneſs, and indeed by his ſuperior talents and diſintereſtedneſs in other reſpects, and his unwearied activity, he employed jeſuitical tricks, cauſing them to fall out with each other, ſetting them as ſpies on each other, and ſeparating any two that he ſaw attached to each other, by making the one a Maſter of the other; and, in ſhort, he left nothing undone that could ſecure his uncontrolled command.

mand. This caufed Philo to quit the Order, and made *Baffus*, *Von Torring*, *Kreitmaier*, and feveral other gentlemen, ceafe attending the meetings; and it was their mutual diffenfions which made them fpeak too freely in public, and call on themfelves fo much notice. At the time of the difcovery, the party of Weifhaupt confifted chiefly of very mean people, devoted to him, and willing to execute his orders, that by being his fervants, they might have the pleafure of commanding others.

The objects, the undoubted objects of this Affociation, are furely dangerous and deteftable; namely, to overturn the prefent conftitutions of the European States, in order to introduce a chimera which the hiftory of mankind fhews to be contrary to the nature of man.

Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen ufque recurret.

Suppofe it poffible, and done in peace, the new fyftem could not ftand unlefs every principle of activity in the human mind be enthralled, all incitement to exertion and induftry removed, and man brought into a condition incapable of improvement; and this at the expence of every thing that is valued by the beft of men—by mifery and devaftation—by loofening all the bands of fociety. To talk of morality and virtue in conjunction with fuch fchemes is an infult to common fenfe; diffoluteneſs of manners alone can bring men to think of it.

Is

Is it not aſtoniſhing, therefore, to hear people in this country expreſs any regard for this inſtitution? Is it not moſt mortifying to think that there are Lodges of Illuminated among us? I think that nothing bids fairer for weaning our inconſiderate countrymen from having any connection with them, than the faithful account here given. I hope that there are few, very few of our countrymen, and none whom we call friend, who can think that an Order which held ſuch doctrines, and which practiſed ſuch things, can be any thing elſe than a ruinous Aſſociation, a gang of profligates. All their profeſſions of the love of mankind are vain; their Illumination muſt be a bewildering blaze, and totally ineffectual for its purpoſe, for it has had no ſuch influence on the leaders of the band; yet it ſeems quite adequate to the effects it has produced; for ſuch are the characters of thoſe who forget God.

If we in the next place attend to their mode of education, and examine it by thoſe rules of common ſenſe that we apply in other caſes of conduct, we ſhall find it equally unpromiſing. The ſyſtem of Illuminatiſm is one of the explanations of Free Maſonry; and it has gained many partiſans. Theſe explanations reſt their credit and their preference on their own merits. There is ſomething in themſelves, or in one of them as diſtinguiſhed from another, which procures it the preference for its own ſake. Therefore,

fore, to give this Order any dependence on Free Maſonry is to degrade the Order. To introduce a Maſonic Ritual into a manly inſtitution, is to degrade it to a frivolous amuſement for great children. Men really exerting themſelves to reform the world, and qualified for the taſk, muſt have been diſguſted with ſuch occupations. They betray a frivolous conception of the taſk in which they are really engaged. To imagine that men engaged in the ſtruggle and rivalſhip of life, under the influence of ſelfiſh, or mean, or impetuous paſſions, are to be wheedled into candid ſentiments, or a generous conduct, as a froward child may ſometimes be made gentle and tractable by a rattle or humming-top, betrays a great ignorance of human nature, and an arrogant ſelf-conceit in thoſe who can imagine that all but themſelves are babies. The further we proceed, the more do we ſee of this *want of wiſdom*. The whole procedure of their inſtruction ſuppoſes ſuch a complete ſurrender of freedom of thought, of common ſenſe, and of common caution, that it ſeems impoſſible that it ſhould not have alarmed every ſenſible mind. This indeed happened before the Order was ſeven years old. It was wiſe indeed to keep their *Areopagitæ* out of ſight; but who can be ſo ſilly as to believe that their unknown Superiors were all and always faultleſs men? But had they been the men

men they were repreſented to be,—If I have any knowledge of my own heart, or any capacity of drawing juſt inferences from the conduct of others, I am perſuaded that the knowing his Superiors would have animated the pupil to exertion, that he might exhibit a pleaſing ſpectacle to ſuch intelligent and worthy judges. Did not the Stoics profeſs themſelves to be encouraged in the ſcheme of life, by the thought that the immortal Gods were looking on and paſſing their judgments on their manner of acting the part aſſigned them? But what abject ſpirit will be contented with working, zealouſly working, for years, after a plan of which he is *never* to learn the full meaning? In ſhort, the only knowledge that he can perceive is knowledge in its worſt form, *Cunning*. This muſt appear in the contrivances by which he will ſoon find that he is kept in complete ſubjection. If he is a true and zealous Brother, he has put himſelf in the power of his Superiors by his reſcripts, which they required of him on pretence of their learning his own character, and of his learning how to know the characters of other men. In theſe reſcripts they have got his thoughts on many delicate points, and on the conduct of others. His Directors may ruin him by betraying him; and this without being ſeen in it. I ſhould think that wiſe men would know that none but weak or bad

bad men would ſubject themſelves to ſuch a taſk. They exclude the good, the manly, the only fit perſons for aſſiſting them in their endeavours to inform and to rule the world. Indeed I may ſay that this excluſion is almoſt made already by connecting the Order with Free Maſonry. Lodges are not the reſorts of ſuch men. They may ſometimes be found there for an hour's relaxation. But theſe places are the haunts of the young, the thoughtleſs, the idle, the weak, the vain, or of deſigning Literati; and accordingly this is the condition of three-fourths of the Illuminati whoſe names are known to the public. I own that the reaſons given to the pupil for preſcribing theſe taſks are artful, and well adapted to produce their effect. During the flurry of reception, and the glow of expectation, the danger may not be ſuſpected; but I hardly imagine that it will remain unperceived when the pupil ſits down to write his firſt leſſon. Maſon Lodges, however, were the moſt likely places for finding and enliſting members. Young men, warmed by declamations teeming with the flimſy moral cant of Coſmo-politiſm, are in the proper frame of mind for this Illumination. It now appears alſo, that the diſſenſions in Free Maſonry muſt have had great influence in promoting this ſcheme of Weiſhaupt's, which was, in many particulars, ſo unpromiſing, becauſe it preſuppoſes

poſes ſuch a degradation of the mind. But when the ſchiſmatics in Maſonry diſputed with warmth, trifles came to acquire unſpeakable importance. The hankering after wonder was not in the leaſt abated by all the tricks which had been detected, and the impoſſibility of the wiſhed-for diſcovery had never been demonſtrated to perſons prepoſſeſſed in its favour. They ſtill *choſe* to believe that the ſymbols contained ſome important ſecret; and happy will be the man who finds it out. The more frivolous the ſymbols, the more does the heart cling to the myſtery; and, to a mind in this anxious ſtate, Weiſhaupt's proffer was enticing. He laid before them a ſcheme which was ſomewhat feaſible, was magnificent, ſurpaſſing our conceptions, but at the ſame time ſuch as permitted us to expatiate on the ſubject, and even to amplify it at pleaſure in our imaginations without abſurdity. It does not appear to me wonderful, therefore, that ſo many were faſcinated till they became at laſt regardleſs of the abſurdity and inconſiſtency of the means by which this ſplendid object was to be attained. Hear what Spartacus himſelf ſays of hidden myſteries. "Of all "the means I know to lead men, the moſt effec- "tual is a concealed myſtery. The hanker- "ing of the mind is irreſiſtible; and if once a "man has taken it into his head that there is a "myſtery in a thing, it is impoſſible to get it

" out, either by argument or experience. And " then, we can ſo change notions by merely " changing a word. What more contemptible than " *fanaticiſm;* but call it *enthuſiaſm;* then add the " little word *noble,* and you may lead him over " the world. Nor are we, in theſe bright days, " a bit better than our fathers, who found the " pardon of their ſins myſteriouſly contained in " a much greater ſin, viz. leaving their family, " and going barefooted to Rome."

Such being the employment, and ſuch the diſciples, ſhould we expect the fruits to be very precious? No. The doctrines which were gradually unfolded were ſuch as ſuited thoſe who continued in the *Curſus Academicus.* Thoſe who did not, becauſe they did not like them, got a *Sta bene;* they were not fit for advancement. The numbers however were great; Spartacus boaſted of 600 in Bavaria alone in 1783. We don't know many of them; few of thoſe we know were in the upper ranks of life; and I can ſee that it required much wheedling, and many letters of long worded German compliments from the proud Spartacus, to win even a young Baron or a Graf juſt come of age. Men in an eaſy ſituation in life could not brook the employment of a ſpy, which is baſe, cowardly, and corrupting, and has in all ages and countries degraded the perſon who engages in it. Can the perſon be called wiſe who

who thus enſlaves himſelf? Such perſons give up the right of private judgment, and rely on their unknown Superiors with the blindeſt and moſt abject confidence. For their ſakes, and to rivet ſtill faſter their own fetters, they engage in the moſt corrupting of all employments—and for what?—To learn ſomething more of an Order, of which every degree explodes the doctrine of a former one. Would it have hurt the young *Illuminatus* to have it explained to him all at once? Would not this fire his mind—when he ſees with the ſame glance the great object, and the fitneſs of the means for attaining it? Would not the exalted characters of the Superiors, ſo much excelling himſelf in talents, and virtue, and happineſs, (otherwiſe the Order is good for nothing,) warm his heart, and fill him with emulation, ſince he ſees in them, that what is ſo ſtrongly preached to him is an attainable thing? No, no—it is all a trick; he muſt be kept like a child, amuſed with rattles, and ſtars, and ribands—and all the ſatisfaction he obtains is, like the Maſons, the diverſion of ſeeing others running the ſame gauntlet.

Weiſhaupt acknowledges that the great influence of the Order may be abuſed. Surely, in no way ſo eaſily or ſo fatally as by corrupting or ſeductive leſſons in the beginning. The miſtake or error of the pupil is undiſcoverable by himſelf, (according to the genuine principles of Illumination,) for

for the pupil muſt believe his Mentor to be infallible—with him alone he is connected—his leſſons only muſt he learn. Who can tell him that he has gone wrong—or who can ſet him right?

Here, therefore, there is confuſion and deficiency. There muſt be ſome ſtandard to which appeal can be made; but this is inacceſſible to all within the pale of the Order; it is therefore without this pale, and independent of the Order—and it is attainable only by abandoning the Order. The QUIBUS LICET, the PRIMO, the SOLI, can procure no light to the perſon who does not know that he has been led out of the right road to virtue and happineſs. The Superiors indeed draw much uſeful information from theſe reports, though they affect to ſtand in no need of it, and they make a cruel return.

All this is ſo much out of the natural road of inſtruction, that, on this account alone, we may preſume that it is wrong. We are generally ſafe when we follow nature's plans. A child learns in his father's houſe, by ſeeing, and by imitating, and in common domeſtic education, he gets much uſeful knowledge, and the chief habits which are afterwards to regulate his conduct. Example does almoſt every thing; and, with reſpect to what may be called living, as diſtinguiſhable from profeſſion, ſpeculation and argumentative inſtruction

are ſeldom employed, or of any uſe. The indiſpenſableneſs of mutual forbearance and obedience, for domeſtic peace and happineſs, forms moſt of theſe habits; and the child, under good parents, is kept in a ſituation that makes virtue eaſier than vice, and he becomes wiſe and good without any expreſs ſtudy about the matter.

But this Illumination plan is darkneſs over all—it is too artificial—and the topics, from which counſel is to be drawn, cannot be taken from the peculiar views of the Order—for theſe are yet a ſecret for the pupil—and muſt ever be a ſecret for him while under tuition. They muſt therefore be drawn from common ſources, and the Order is of no uſe; all that can naturally be effectuated by this Aſſociation is the forming, and aſſiduouſly foſtering a narrow, Jewiſh, corporation ſpirit, totally oppoſite to the benevolent pretenſions of the Order. The pupil can ſee nothing but this, that there is a ſet of men, whom he does not know, who may acquire incontroulable power, and may perhaps make uſe of him, but for what purpoſe, and in what way, he does not know; how can he know that his endeavours are to make man happier, any other way than as he might have known it without having put this collar round his own neck?

Theſe reflections addreſs themſelves to all men who profeſs to conduct themſelves by the principles

ciples and dictates of common ſenſe and prudence, and who have the ordinary ſhare of candour and good-will to others. It requires no ſingular ſenſibility of heart, nor great generoſity, to make ſuch people think the doctrines and views of the Illuminati falſe, abſurd, fooliſh, and ruinous. But I hope that I addreſs them to thouſands of my countrymen and friends, who have much higher notions of human nature, and who cheriſh with care the affections and the hopes that are ſuited to a rational, a benevolent, and a high-minded being, capable of endleſs improvement.

To thoſe who enjoy the cheering confidence in the ſuperintendance and providence of God, who conſider themſelves as creatures whom he has made, and whom he cares for, as the ſubjects of his moral government, this Order muſt appear with every character of falſehood and abſurdity on its countenance. What CAN BE MORE IMPROBABLE than this, that He, whom we look up to as the contriver, the maker, and director, of this goodly frame of things, ſhould have ſo far miſtaken his own plans, that this world of rational creatures ſhould have ſubſiſted for thouſands of years, before a way could be found out, by which his intention of making men good and happy could be accompliſhed; and that this method did not occur to the great Artiſt himſelf, nor even

to the wiſeſt, and happieſt, and beſt men upon earth; but to a few inſignificant perſons at Munich in Bavaria, who had been trying to raiſe ghoſts, to change lead into gold, to tell fortunes, or diſcover treaſures, but had failed in all their attempts; men who had been engaged for years in every whim which characteriſes a weak, a greedy, or a gloomy mind? Finding all theſe beyond their reach, they combined their powers, and, at once, found out this infinitely more important SECRET—for ſecret it muſt ſtill be, otherwiſe not only the Deity, but even theſe philoſophers, will ſtill be diſappointed.

Yet this is the doctrine that muſt be ſwallowed by the Minervals and the *Illuminati Minores*, to whom it is not yet ſafe to diſcloſe the grand ſecret, *that there is no ſuch ſuperintendance of Deity.* At laſt, however, when the pupil has conceived ſuch exalted notions of the knowledge of his teachers, and ſuch low notions of the blundering projector of this world, it may be no difficult matter to perſuade him that all his former notions were only old wives tales. By this time he muſt have heard much about ſuperſtition, and how men's minds have been dazzled by this ſplendid picture of a Providence and a moral government of the univerſe. It now appears incompatible with the great object of the Order, the principles of univerſal liberty and equality—it is therefore re-

jected without farther examination, for this reason alone. This was precisely the argument used in France for rejecting revealed religion. It was incompatible with their Rights of Man.

It is richly worth observing how this principle can warp the judgment, and give quite another appearance to the same object. The reader will not be displeased with a most remarkable instance of it, which I beg leave to give at length.

Our immortal Newton, whom the philosophers of Europe look up to as the honour of our species, whom even Mr. Bailly, the President of the National Assembly of France, and Mayor of Paris, cannot find words sufficiently energetic to praise; this patient, sagacious, and successful observer of nature, after having exhibited to the wondering world the characteristic property of that principle of material nature by which all the bodies of the solar system are made to form a connected and permanent universe; and after having shown that this law of action alone was adapted to this end, and that if gravity had deviated but one thousandth part from the inverse duplicate ratio of the distances, the system must, in the course of a very few revolutions, have gone into confusion and ruin—he sits down, and views the goodly scene,—and then closes his Principles of Natural Philosophy with this reflection (his *Scholium generale*):

" This moſt elegant frame of things could not " have ariſen, unleſs by the contrivance and the " direction of a wiſe and powerful Being; and " if the fixed ſtars are the centres of ſyſtems, theſe " ſyſtems muſt be ſimilar; and all theſe, con- " ſtructed according to the ſame plan, are ſubject " to the government of *one* Being. All theſe he " governs, not as the ſoul of the world, but as " the Lord of all; therefore, on account of his " government, he is called the Lord God—Παντο- " κράτωρ; for God is a relative term, and refers " to ſubjects. Deity is God's government, not " of his own body, as thoſe think who conſider " him as the ſoul of the world, but of his ſer- " vants. The ſupreme God is a Being eternal, " infinite, abſolutely perfect. But a being, how- " ever perfect, without government, is not God; " for we ſay, *my* God, your God, the God of " Iſrael. We cannot ſay *my* eternal, *my* infinite. " We may have ſome notions indeed of his at- " tributes, but can have none of his nature. " With reſpect to bodies, we ſee only ſhapes " and colour—hear only ſounds—touch only " ſurfaces. Theſe are attributes of bodies; but " of their eſſence we know nothing. As a " blind man can form no notion of colours, " we can form none of the manner in which " God perceives, and underſtands, and influ- " ences every thing.

" Therefore

" Therefore we know God only by his attri-
" butes. What are theſe? The wiſe and excel-
" lent contrivance, ſtructure, and final aim of all
" things. In theſe his perfections we admire
" him, and we wonder. In his direction or go-
" vernment, we venerate and worſhip him—we
" worſhip him as his ſervants; and God, without
" dominion, without providence, and final aims,
" is Fate—not the object either of reverence, of
" hope, of love, or of fear."

But mark the emotions which affected the mind of another excellent obſerver of Nature, the admirer of Newton, and the perſon who has put the finiſhing ſtroke to the Newtonian philoſophy, by ſhowing that the acceleration of the moon's mean motion, is the genuine reſult of a gravitation decreaſing in the preciſe duplicate ratio of the diſtance inverſely; I mean Mr. Delaplace, one of the moſt brilliant ornaments of the French academy of ſciences. He has lately publiſhed the *Syſteme du Monde*, a moſt beautiful compend of aſtronomy and of the Newtonian philoſophy. Having finiſhed his work with the ſame obſervation, " That a gravitation inverſely proportional
" to the ſquares of the diſtances was the only
" principle which could unite material Nature
" into a permanent ſyſtem;" *he* alſo ſits down—ſurveys the ſcene—points out the parts which he had brought within our ken—and then makes this

reflection: " Beheld in its totality, aſtronomy is " the nobleſt monument of the human mind, its " chief title to intelligence. But, ſeduced by the " illuſions of ſenſe, and by ſelf-conceit, we have " long conſidered ourſelves as the centre of theſe " motions; and our pride has been puniſhed by " the groundleſs fears which we have created to " ourſelves. We imagine, forſooth, that all this " is for us, and that the ſtars influence our deſti- " nies! But the labours of ages have convinced " us of our error, and we find ourſelves on an " inſignificant planet, almoſt imperceptible in the " immenſity of ſpace. But the ſublime diſcove- " ries we have made richly repay this humble ſitu- " ation. Let us cheriſh theſe with care, as the " delight of thinking beings—they have de- " ſtroyed our miſtakes as to our relation to the " reſt of the univerſe; errors which were the " more fatal, becauſe the ſocial Order depends " on juſtice and truth alone. Far be from us the " dangerous maxim, that it is ſometimes uſeful " to depart from theſe, and to deceive men, in " order to inſure their happineſs; but cruel ex- " perience has ſhewn us that theſe laws are " never totally extinct."

There can be no doubt as to the meaning of theſe laſt words—they cannot relate to aſtrology—this was entirely out of date. The " attempts " to deceive men, in order to inſure their happi- " neſs,"

" nefs," can only be thofe by which we are made to think too highly of ourfelves. " In- " habitants of this pepper-corn, we think our- " felves the peculiar favourites of Heaven, " nay, the chief objects of care to a Being, the " Maker of all; and then we imagine that, " after this life, we are to be happy or miferable, " according as we accede or not to this fubju- " gation to opinions which enflave us. But truth " and juftice have broken thefe bonds."—But where is the force of the argument which entitles this perfecter of the Newtonian philofophy to exult fo much? It all refts on this, That this earth is but as a grain of muftard-feed. Man would be more worth attention had he inhabited Jupiter or the Sun. Thus may a Frenchman look down on the noble creatures who inhabit Orolong or Pelew. But whence arifes the abfurdity of the intellectual inhabitants of this pepper-corn being a proper object of attention? it is becaufe our fhallow comprehenfions cannot, at the fame glance, fee an extenfive fcene, and perceive its moft minute detail.

David, a King, and a foldier, had fome notions of this kind. The heavens, it is true, pointed out to him a Maker and Ruler, which is more than they feem to have done to the Gallic philofopher; but David was afraid that he would be forgotten in the crowd, and cries out, " Lord! " what

" what is man, that thou art mindful of *him?*" But David gets rid of his fears, not by becoming a philoſopher, and diſcovering all this to be abſurd,—he would ſtill be forgotten,—he at once thinks of what he is—a noble creature—high in the ſcale of nature. " But," ſays he, " I " had forgotten myſelf. Thou haſt made man " but a little lower than the angels—thou haſt " crowned him with glory and honour—thou " haſt put all things under his feet." Here are exalted ſentiments, fit for the creature whoſe ken pierces through the immenſity of the viſible univerſe, and who ſees his relation to the univerſe, being nearly allied to its Sovereign, and capable of riſing continually in his rank, by cultivating thoſe talents which diſtinguiſh and adorn it.

Thouſands, I truſt, there are, who think that this life is but a preparation for another, in which the mind of man will have the whole wonders of creation and of providence laid open to its enraptured view—where it will ſee and comprehend with one glance what Newton, the moſt patient and ſucceſsful of all the obſervers of nature, took years of meditation to find out—where it will attain that pitch of wiſdom, goodneſs, and enjoyment, of which our conſciences tell us we are capable, though it far ſurpaſſes that of the wiſeſt, the beſt, and the happieſt of men. Such perſons will conſider this Order as degrading

ing and deteſtable, and as in direct oppoſition to their moſt confident expectations: For it pretends to what is impoſſible, to perfect peace and happineſs in this life. They believe, and they feel, that man muſt be made perfect through ſufferings, which ſhall call into action powers of mind that otherwiſe would never have unfolded themſelves—powers which are frequently ſources of the pureſt and moſt ſoothing pleaſures, and naturally make us reſt our eyes and hopes on that ſtate where every tear ſhall be wiped away, and where the kind affections ſhall become the never-failing ſources of pure and unfading delight. Such perſons ſee the palpable abſurdity of a preparation which is equally neceſſary for all, and yet muſt be confined to the minds of a few, who have the low and indelicate appetite for frivolous play-things, and for groſs ſenſual pleaſures. Such minds will turn away from this boaſted treat with loathing and abhorrence.

I am well aware that ſome of my readers may ſmile at this, and think it an enthuſiaſtical working up of the imagination, ſimilar to what I reprobate in the caſe of Utopian happineſs in a ſtate of univerſal Liberty and Equality. It is like, they will ſay, to the declamation in a ſermon by perſons of the trade, who are trained up to fineſſe, by which they allure and tickle weak minds.

I ac-

I acknowledge that in the preſent caſe I do not addreſs myſelf to the cold hearts, who contentedly

" *Sink and ſlumber in their cells of clay;*

——Peace to all ſuch;——but to the "*felices animæ, quibus hæc cognoſcere cura;*"—to thoſe who *have enjoyed* the pleaſures of ſcience, who have been ſucceſsful—who have made diſcoveries—who have really illuminated the world—to the Bacons, the Newtons, the Lockes.—Allow me to mention one, Daniel Bernoulli, the moſt elegant mathematician, the only philoſopher, and the moſt worthy man, of that celebrated family. He ſaid to a gentleman, (Dr. Staehling,) who repeated it to me, that "when reading ſome of "thoſe wonderful gueſſes of Sir Iſaac Newton, "the ſubſequent demonſtration of which has "been the chief ſource of fame to his moſt ce-"lebrated commentators—his mind has ſome-"times been ſo overpowered by thrilling emo-"tions, that he has wiſhed that moment to be "his laſt; and that it was this which gave him "the cleareſt conception of the happineſs of "heaven." If ſuch delightful emotions could be excited by the perception of mere truth, what muſt they be when each of theſe truths is an inſtance of wiſdom, and when we recollect, that what

what we call wiſdom in the works of nature, is always the nice adaptation of means for producing *beneficent* ends; and that each of theſe affecting qualities is ſuſceptible of degrees which are boundleſs, and exceed our higheſt conceptions? What can this complex emotion or feeling be but rapture? But Bernoulli is a Doctor of Theology—and therefore a ſuſpicious perſon, perhaps one of the combination hired by deſpots to enſlave us. I will take another man, a gentleman of rank and family, a ſoldier, who often ſignaliſed himſelf as a naval commander—who at one time forced his way through a powerful fleet of the Venetians with a ſmall ſquadron, and brought relief to a diſtreſſed garriſon. I would deſire the reader to peruſe the concluſion of Sir Kenhelm Digby's *Treatiſes on Body and Mind*; and after having reflected on the ſtate of ſcience at the time this author wrote, let him coolly weigh the incitements to manly conduct which this ſoldier finds in the differences obſerved between body and mind; and then let him ſay, on his conſcience, whether they are more feeble than thoſe which he can draw from the eternal ſleep of death. If he thinks that they are—he is in the proper frame for initiation into Spartacus's higher myſteries. He may be either MAGUS or REX.

Were

Were this a proper place for conſidering the queſtion as a queſtion of ſcience or truth, I would ſay, that every man who has been a *ſucceſsful* ſtudent of nature, and who will reſt his concluſions on the ſame maxims of probable reaſoning that have procured him ſucceſs in his paſt reſearches, will conſider it as next to certain that there is another ſtate of exiſtence for rational man. For he muſt own, that if this be not the caſe, there is a moſt ſingular exception to a propoſition which the whole courſe of his experience has made him conſider as a truth founded on univerſal induction, viz. that *nature accompliſhes all her plans*, and that every claſs of beings attains all the improvement of which it is capable. Let him but turn his thoughts inward, he will feel that his intellect is capable of improvement, in compariſon with which Newton is but a child. I could purſue this argument very far, and (I think) warm the heart of every man whom I ſhould wiſh to call my friend.

What opinion will be formed of this Aſſociation by the modeſt, the lowly-minded, the candid, who acknowledge that they too often feel the ſuperior force of preſent and ſenſible pleaſures, by which their minds are drawn off from the contemplation of what their conſciences tell them to be right,—to be their dutiful and filial

ſentiments

ſentiments and emotions reſpecting their great and good Parent—to be their dutiful and neighbourly affections, and their proper conduct to all around them—and which diminiſh their veneration for that purity of thought and moderation of appetite which becomes their noble natures? What muſt *they* think of this Order? Conſcious of frequent faults, which would offend themſelves if committed by their deareſt children, they look up to their Maker with anxiety—are grieved to have ſo far forgotten their duty, and fearful that they may again forget it. Their painful experience tells them that their reaſon is often too weak, their information too ſcanty, or its light is obſtructed by paſſion and prejudices, which diſtort and diſcolour every thing; or it is unheeded during their attention to preſent objects. Happy ſhould they be, if it ſhould pleaſe their kind Parent to remind them of their duty from time to time, or to influence their mind in any way that would compenſate for their own ignorance, their own weakneſs, or even their indolence and neglect. They dare not expect ſuch a favour, which their modeſty tells them they do not deſerve, and which they fear may be unfit to be granted; but when ſuch a comfort is held out to them, with eager hearts they receive it—they bleſs the kindneſs that granted it, and the hand that brings it.——Such amiable characters have

appeared

appeared in all ages, and in all situations of mankind. They have not in all instances been wise—often have they been precipitate, and have too readily caught at any thing which pretended to give them the so much wished-for assistances; and, unfortunately, there have been enthusiasts, or villains, who have taken advantage of this universal wish of anxious man; and the world has been darkened by cheats, who have misrepresented God to mankind, have filled us with vain terrors, and have then quieted our fears by fines, and sacrifices, and mortifications, and services, which they said were more than sufficient to expiate all our faults. Thus was our duty to our neighbour, to our own dignity, and to our Maker and Parent, kept out of sight, and religion no longer came in aid to our sense of right and wrong; but, on the contrary, by these superstitions it opened the doors of heaven to the worthless and the wicked.—But I wish not to speak of these men, but of the good, the candid, the MODEST, the HUMBLE, who know their failings, who love their duties, but wish to know, to perceive, and to love them still more. These are they who think and believe that "the Gospel "has brought life and immortality to light," that is, within their reach. They think it worthy of the Father of mankind, and they receive it with thankful hearts, admiring above all things

the

the ſimplicity of its morality, comprehended in one ſentence, "Do to another what you can "reaſonably wiſh that another ſhould do to "you," and THAT PURITY OF THOUGHT AND MANNERS WHICH DISTINGUISHES IT FROM ALL THE SYSTEMS OF MORAL INSTRUCTION THAT HAVE EVER BEEN OFFERED TO MEN. Here they find a ground of reſignation under the troubles of life, and a ſupport in the hour of death, quite ſuited to the diffidence of their own character. Such men are ready to grant that the Stoics were perſons of noble and exalted minds, and that they had worthy conceptions of the rank of man in the ſcale of God's works; but they confeſs that they themſelves do not feel all that ſupport from Stoical principles which man too frequently needs; and they ſay that they are not ſingular in their opinions, but that the bulk of mankind are prevented, by their want of heroic fortitude, by their ſituation, or their want of the opportunities of cultivating their native ſtrength of mind, from ever attaining this hearty ſubmiſſion to the will of the Deity.—They maintain, that the Stoics were but a few, a very few, from among many millions—and therefore *their* being ſatisfied was but a trifle amidſt the general diſcontent, and anxiety, and deſpair.—Such men will moſt certainly ſtart back from this Illumination with horror and fright—from a Society which gives the lie to their fondeſt expectations,

makes a ſport of their grounds of hope, and of their deliverer; and which, after laughing at their credulity, bids them ſhake off all religion whatever, and denies the exiſtence of that Supreme Mind, the pattern of all excellence, who till now had filled their thoughts with admiration and love—from an Order which pretends to free them from ſpiritual bondage, and then lays on their necks a load ten times more oppreſſive and intolerable, from which they have no power of ever eſcaping. Men of ſenſe and virtue will ſpurn at ſuch a propoſal; and even the profligate, who trade with Deity, muſt be ſenſible that they will be better off with their prieſts, whom they know, and among whom they may make a ſelection of ſuch as will with patience and gentleneſs clear up their doubts, calm their fears, and encourage their hopes.

And all good men, all lovers of peace and of juſtice, will abhor and reject the thought of overturning the preſent conſtitution of things, faulty as it may be, merely in the endeavour to eſtabliſh another, which the vices of mankind may ſubvert again in a twelvemonth. They muſt ſee, that in order to gain their point, the propoſers have found it neceſſary to deſtroy the grounds of morality, by permitting the moſt wicked means for accompliſhing any end that our fancy, warped by paſſion or intereſt, may repreſent to us

as

as of great importance. They ſee, that inſtead of morality, vice muſt prevail, and that therefore there is no ſecurity for the continuance of this Utopian felicity; and, in the mean time, deſolation and miſery muſt lay the world waſte during the ſtruggle, and half of thoſe for whom we are ſtriving will be ſwept from the face of the earth. We have but to look to France, where in eight years there have been more executions and ſpoliations and diſtreſſes of every kind by the *pouvoir revolutionnaire*, than can be found in the long records of that deſpotic monarchy.

There is nothing in the whole conſtitution of the Illuminati that ſtrikes me with more horror than the propoſals of Hercules and Minos to enliſt the women in this ſhocking warfare with all that "is good, and pure, and lovely, and of good "report." They could not have fallen on any expedient that will be more effectual and fatal. If any of my countrywomen ſhall honour theſe pages with a reading, I would call on them, in the moſt earneſt manner, to conſider this as an affair of the utmoſt importance to themſelves. I would conjure them by the regard they have for their own dignity, and for their rank in ſociety, to join againſt theſe enemies of human nature and profligate degraders of the ſex; and I would aſſure them that the preſent ſtate of things almoſt puts it in their power to be the ſaviours of the world.

But if they are remiſs, and yield to the ſeduction, they will fall from that high ſtate to which they have ariſen in Chriſtian Europe, and again ſink into that inſignificancy or ſlavery in which the ſex is found in all ages and countries out of the hearing of Chriſtianity.

I hope that my countrywomen will conſider this ſolemn addreſs to them as a proof of the high eſteem in which I hold them. They will not be offended then if, in this ſeaſon of alarm and anxiety, when I wiſh to impreſs their minds with a ſerious truth, I ſhall waive ceremony, which is always deſigning, and ſpeak of them in honeſt but decent plainneſs.

Man is immerſed in luxury. Our accommodations are now ſo numerous that every thing is pleaſure. Even in very ſober ſituations in this highly-cultivated Society, there is hardly a thing that remains in the form of a neceſſary of life, or even of a mere conveniency—every thing is ornamented—it muſt not appear of uſe—it muſt appear as giving ſome ſenſible pleaſure. I do not ſay this by way of blaming—it is nature—man is a refining creature, and our moſt boaſted acquirements are but refinements on our neceſſary wants. Our hut becomes a palace, our blanket a fine dreſs, and our arts become ſciences. This diſcontent with the natural condition of things, and this diſpoſition to refinement, is a characteriſtic of

of our ſpecies, and is the great employment of our lives. The direction which this propenſity chances to take in any age or nation, marks its character in the moſt conſpicuous and intereſting manner. All have it in ſome degree, and it is very conceivable that, in ſome, it may conſtitute the chief object of attention. If this be the caſe in any nations, it is ſurely moſt likely to be ſo in thoſe where the accommodations of life are the moſt numerous—therefore in a rich and luxurious nation. I may ſurely, without exaggeration or reproach, give that appellation to our own nation at this moment. If you do not go to the very loweſt claſs of people, who muſt labour all day, is it not the chief object of all to procure *perceptible pleaſure* in one way or another? The ſober and buſy ſtruggle in the thoughts and hopes of getting the means of enjoying the *comforts* of life without farther labour—and many have no other object than pleaſure.

Then let us reflect that it is woman that is to *grace* the whole—It is in nature, it is the very conſtitution of man, that woman, and every thing connected with woman, muſt appear as the ornament of life. That this mixes with every other ſocial ſentiment, appears from the conduct of our ſpecies in all ages and in every ſituation. This I preſume would be the caſe even though there were no qualities or talents in the ſex to

juſtify it. This ſentiment reſpecting the ſex is neceſſary, in order to rear ſo helpleſs, ſo nice, and ſo improveable a creature as man; without it, the long abiding taſk could not be performed: —and I think that I may venture to ſay that it is performed in the different ſtates of ſociety nearly in proportion as this preparatory and indiſpenſable ſentiment is in force.

On the other hand, I think it no leſs evident that it is the deſire of the women to be agreeable to the men, and that they will model themſelves according to what they think will pleaſe. Without this adjuſtment of ſentiments by nature, nothing would go on. We never obſerve any ſuch want of ſymmetry in the works of God. If, therefore, thoſe who take the lead, and give the faſhion in ſociety, were wiſe and virtuous, I have no doubt but that the women would ſet the brighteſt pattern of every thing that is excellent. But if the men are nice and faſtidious ſenſualiſts, the women will be refined and elegant voluptuaries.

There is no deficiency in the female mind, either in talents or in diſpoſitions; nor can we ſay with certainty that there is any ſubject of intellectual or moral diſcuſſion in which women have not excelled. If the delicacy of their conſtitution, and other phyſical cauſes, allow the female ſex a ſmaller ſhare of ſome mental powers, they poſſeſs others in a ſuperior degree, which are no leſs reſpectable

ſpectable in their own nature, and of as great importance to ſociety. Inſtead of deſcanting at large on their powers of mind, and ſupporting my aſſertions by the inſtances of a Hypatia, a Schurman, a Zenobia, an Elizabeth, &c. I may repeat the account given of the ſex by a perſon of uncommon experience, who ſaw them without diſguiſe, or any motive that could lead them to play a feigned part—Mr. Ledyard, who traverſed the greateſt part of the world, for the mere indulgence of his taſte for obſervation of human nature; generally in want, and often in extreme miſery.

" I have (ſays he) always remarked that wo-
" men, in all countries, are civil, obliging, ten-
" der, and humane: that they are ever inclined
" to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modeſt;
" and that they do not heſitate, like men, to per-
" form a kind or generous action.—Not haughty,
" not arrogant, not ſupercilious, they are full
" of courteſy, and fond of ſociety—more liable
" in general to err than man, but in general, alſo,
" more virtuous, and performing more good
" actions than he. To a woman, whether civi-
" lized or ſavage, I never addreſſed myſelf in the
" language of decency aad friendſhip—without
" receiving a decent and friendly anſwer—with
" man it has often been otherwiſe.

" In wandering over the barren plains of in-
" hoſpitable Denmark, through honeſt Sweden,

" and frozen Lapland, rude and churliſh Finland,
" unprincipled Ruſſia, and the wide ſpread re-
" gions of the wandering Tartar,—if hungry,
" dry, cold, wet, or ſick, the women have ever
" been friendly to me, and uniformly ſo; and
" to add to this virtue, (ſo worthy of the appel-
" lation of benevolence,) theſe actions have been
" performed in ſo free and ſo kind a manner, that
" if I was thirſty, I drank the ſweeteſt draught,
" and if hungry, I ate the coarſe meal with a
" double reliſh."

And theſe are they whom Weiſhaupt would corrupt! One of theſe, whom he had embraced with fondneſs, would he have murdered, to ſave his honour, and qualify himſelf to preach virtue! But let us not be too ſevere on Weiſhaupt—let us waſh ourſelves clear of all ſtain before we think of reprobating him. Are we not guilty in ſome degree, when we do not cultivate in the women thoſe powers of mind, and thoſe diſpoſitions of heart, which would equally dignify them in every ſtation as in thoſe humble ranks in which Mr. Ledyard moſt frequently ſaw them? I cannot think that we do this. They are not only to *grace* the whole of cultivated ſociety, but it is in their faithful and affectionate perſonal attachment that we are to find the ſweeteſt pleaſures that life can give. Yet in all theſe ſituations where the manner in which they are treated is not dictated

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by the ſtern laws of neceſſity, are they not trained up for mere amuſement—are not ſerious occupations conſidered as a taſk which hurts their lovelineſs? What is this but ſelfiſhneſs, or as if they had no virtues worth cultivating? Their *buſineſs* is ſuppoſed to be the ornamenting themſelves, as if nature did not dictate this to them already, with at leaſt as much force as is neceſſary. Every thing is preſcribed to them *becauſe it makes them more lovely*—even their moral leſſons are enforced by this argument, and Miſs Woolſtoncraft is perfectly right when ſhe ſays that the fine leſſons given to young women by Fordyce or Rouſſeau are nothing but ſelfiſh and refined voluptuouſneſs. This advocate of her ſex puts her ſiſters in the proper point of view, when ſhe tells them that they are, like man, the ſubjects of God's moral government,—like man, preparing themſelves for boundleſs improvement in a better ſtate of exiſtence. Had ſhe adhered to this view of the matter, and kept it conſtantly in ſight, her book (which doubtleſs contains many excellent things, highly deſerving of their ſerious conſideration) would have been a moſt valuable work. She juſtly obſerves, that the virtues of the ſex are great and reſpectable, but that in our mad chace of pleaſure, only pleaſure, they are little thought of or attended to. Man truſts to his own uncontroulable power, or to the general goodneſs of the ſex,

ſex, that their virtues will appear when we have occaſion for them;—" but we will ſend for " theſe ſome other time:"—Many noble diſplays do they make of the moſt difficult attainments. Such is the patient bearing up under misfortunes, which has no brilliancy to ſupport it in the effort. This is more difficult than braving danger in an active and conſpicuous ſituation. How often is a woman left with a family, and the ſhattered remains of a fortune, loſt perhaps by diſſipation or by indolence—and how ſeldom, how very ſeldom, do we ſee woman ſhrink from the taſk, or diſcharge it with negligence? Is it not therefore folly next to madneſs, not to be careful of this our greateſt bleſſing—of things which ſo nearly concern our peace—nor guard ourſelves, and theſe our beſt companions and friends, from the effects of this fatal Illumination? It has indeed brought to light what dreadful lengths men will go, when under the fanatical and dazzling glare of happineſs in a ſtate of liberty and equality, and ſpurred on by inſatiable luxury, and not held in check by moral feelings and the reſtraints of religion—and mark, reader, that the women have here alſo taken the complexion of the men, and have even gone beyond them. If we have ſeen a ſon preſent himſelf to the National Aſſembly of France, profeſſing his ſatisfaction with the execution of his father three days before, and declaring himſelf a true

citizen,

citizen, who prefers the nation to all other conſiderations; we have alſo ſeen, on the ſame day, wives denouncing their huſbands, and (O ſhocking to human nature!) mothers denouncing their ſons, as bad citizens and traitors. Mark too what return the women have met with for all their horrid ſervices, where, to expreſs their ſentiments of civiſm and abhorrence of royalty, they threw away the character of their ſex, and bit the amputated limbs of their murdered countrymen *. Surely theſe patriotic women merited that the rights of their ſex ſhould be conſidered in full council, and they were well entitled to a ſeat; but there is not a ſingle act of their government in which the ſex is conſidered as having any rights whatever, or that they are things to be cared for.

Are not the accurſed fruits of Illumination to be ſeen in the preſent humiliating condition of woman in France? pampered in every thing that can reduce them to the mere inſtruments of animal pleaſure. In their preſent ſtate of national moderation (as they call it) and ſecurity, ſee Madame Tallien come into the public theatre, accompanied by other *beautiful* women, (I was about to have

* I ſay this on the authority of a young gentleman, an emigrant, who ſaw it, and who ſaid, that they were women, not of the dregs of the Palais Royal, nor of infamous character, but well dreſſed.—I am ſorry to add, that the relation, accompanied with looks of horror and diſguſt, only provoked a contemptuous ſmile from an illuminated Britiſh Fair-one.

miſnamed

miſnamed them Ladies,) laying aſide all modeſty, and preſenting themſelves to the public view, with bared limbs, *à la Sauvage*, as the alluring objects of deſire. I make no doubt but that this is a ſerious matter, encouraged, nay, prompted by government. To keep the minds of the Pariſians in the preſent fever of diſſolute gaiety, they are at more expence from the national treaſury for the ſupport of the ſixty theatres, than all the penſions and honorary offices in Britain, three times told, amount to. Was not their abominable farce in the church of Notre Dame a bait of the ſame kind, in the true ſpirit of Weiſhaupt's *Eroterion?* "We "do not," ſaid the high prieſt, "call you to the "worſhip of inanimate idols. Behold a maſter-"piece of nature, (lifting up the veil which con-"cealed the naked charms of the beautiful "Madmſ. Barbier): "This ſacred image ſhould "inflame all hearts." And it did ſo; the people ſhouted out, "No more altars, no more prieſts, "no God but the God of Nature."

Orleans, the firſt prince of the blood, did not ſcruple to proſtitute his daughter, if not to the embraces, yet to the wanton view of the public, with the preciſe intention of inflaming their deſires. (See the account given of the dinners at Sillery's, by Camille Deſmoulines, in his ſpeech againſt the Briſſotins.) But what will be the end of all this? The fondlings of the wealthy will be pampered

pampered in all the indulgences which faſtidious voluptuouſneſs finds neceſſary for varying or enhancing its pleaſures; but they will either be ſlighted as toys, or they will be immured; and the companions of the poor will be drudges and ſlaves.

I am fully perſuaded that it was the enthuſiaſtic admiration of Grecian democracy that recommended to the French nation the dreſs *à la Grecque*, which exhibits, not the elegant, ornamented beauty, but the alluring female, fully as well as Madame Tallien's dreſs *à la Sauvage*. It was no doubt with the ſame adherence to *ſerious principle*, that Mademoiſelle Therouanne was moſt beautifully dreſſed *à l' Amazonne* on the 5th of October 1789, when ſhe turned the heads of ſo many young officers of the regiments at Verſailles. The Cytherea, the *hominum divumque voluptas*, at the cathedral of Notre Dame, was alſo dreſſed *à la Grecque:* There is a moſt evident and characteriſtic change in the whole ſyſtem of female dreſs in France. The *Filles de l'Opera* always gave the *ton*, and were ſurely withheld by no rigid principle. They ſometimes produced very extravagant and fantaſtic forms, but theſe were almoſt always in the ſtyle of the higheſt ornament, and they truſted, for the reſt of the impreſſion which they wiſhed to make, to the faſcinating expreſſion of elegant movements. This indeed was wonderful, and hardly conceivable by

any who have not ſeen a grand ballet performed by good actors. I have ſhed tears of the moſt ſincere and tender ſorrow during the exhibition of Antigone, ſet to muſic by Traëtta, and performed by Madame Meilcour and Sr Torelli, and Zantini. I can eaſily conceive the impreſſion to be ſtill ſtronger, though perhaps of another kind, when the former ſuperb dreſſes are changed for the expreſſive ſimplicity of the Grecian. I cannot help thinking that the female ornaments in the reſt of Europe, and even among ourſelves, have leſs elegance ſince we loſt the ſanction of the French court. But ſee how all this will terminate, when we ſhall have brought the ſex ſo low, and will not even wait for a Mahometan paradiſe. What can we expect but ſuch a diſſoluteneſs of manners, that the endearing ties of relation and family, and mutual confidence within doors, will be ſlighted, and will ceaſe; and every man muſt ſtand up for himſelf, ſingle and alone?

Fœcunda culpæ ſæcula nuptias
Primum inquinavêre, et genus, et domos.
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit. Hor. iii. 6. 17.

This is not the ſuggeſtion of prudiſh fear, I think it is the natural courſe of things, and that France is at this moment giving to the world the fulleſt proof of Weiſhaupt's ſagacity, and the judgment with which he has formed his plans. Can

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it tend to the improvement of our morals or manners to have our ladies frequent the gymnaſtic theatres, and ſee them decide, like the Roman matrons, on the merits of a naked gladiator or wreſtler? Have we not enough of this already with our vaulters and poſture-maſters, and ſhould we admire any lady who had a rage for ſuch ſpectacles? Will it improve our taſte to have our rooms ornamented with ſuch paintings and ſculptures as filled the cenaculum, and the ſtudy of the refined and elegant moraliſt Horace, who had the art—*ridendo dicere verum?* Shall we be improved when ſuch indulgences are thought compatible with ſuch leſſons as he generally gives for the conduct of life? The pure Morality of Illuminatiſm is now employed in ſtripping Italy of all thoſe precious remains of ancient art and voluptuouſneſs; and Paris will ere long be the depoſit and the reſort of artiſts from all nations, there to ſtudy the works of ancient maſters, and to return from thence panders of public corruption. The plan is maſterly, and the low-born Stateſmen and Generals of France may in this reſpect be ſet on a level with a Colbert or a Condé. But the conſequences of this Gallic dominion over the minds of fallen man will be as dreadful as their dominion over their lives and fortunes.

Recollect in what manner Spartacus propoſed to corrupt his ſiſters (for we need not ſpeak of the

the manner in which he expected that this would promote his plan—this is abundantly plain). It was by destroying their moral sentiments, and their sentiments of religion. Recollect what is the recommendation that the Atheist Minos gives of his step-daughters, when he speaks of them as proper persons for the Lodge of Sisters. "They "have got over all prejudices, and, in matters of "religion, they think as I do." These profligates judged rightly that this affair required much caution, and that the utmost attention to decency, and even delicacy, must be observed in their rituals and ceremonies, otherwise the women would be *disgusted*. This was judging fairly of the feelings of a female mind. But they judged falsely, and only according to their own coarse experience, when they attributed their disgust and their fears to coyness. Coyness is indeed the instinctive attribute of the female. In woman it is very great, and it is perhaps the genuine source of the *disgust* of which the Illuminati were suspicious. But they have been dim-sighted indeed, or very unfortunate in their acquaintance, if they never observed any other source of repugnance in the mind of woman to what is immoral or immodest—if they did not see dislike—moral disapprobation. Do they mean to insinuate, that in that regard which modest women express in all their words and actions, for what every one understands by the

the terms decency, modeſty, and the diſapprobation of every thing that violates thoſe feelings, the women only ſhow female coyneſs? Then are they very blind inſtructors. But they are not ſo blind. The account given of the initiation of a young Siſter at Frankfort, under the feigned name *Pſycharion*, ſhows the moſt ſcrupulous attention to the moral feelings of the ſex; and the confuſion and diſturbance which, after all their care, it occaſioned among the ladies, ſhows, that when they thought all right and delicate, they had been but coarſe judges. Minos damns the ladies there, becauſe they are too free, too rich, too republican, and too wiſe, for being led about by the noſe (this is his own expreſſion). But Philo certainly thought more correctly of the ſex in general, when he ſays, Truth is a modeſt girl: She may be handed about like a lady, by good ſenſe and good manners, but muſt not be bullied and driven about like a ſtrumpet. I would here inſert the diſcourſes or addreſſes which were made on that occaſion to the different claſſes of the aſſembly, girls, young ladies, wives, young men, and ſtrangers, which are really ingenious and well compoſed, were they not ſuch as would offend my fair countrywomen.

The religious ſentiments by which mortals are to be aſſiſted, even in the diſcharge of their moral duties, and ſtill more, the ſentiments which are purely religious, and have no reference to any

thing here, are precisely those which are most easily excited in the mind of woman. Affection, admiration, filial reverence, are, if I mistake not exceedingly, those in which the women far surpass the men; and it is on this account that we generally find them so much disposed to devotion, which is nothing but a sort of fond indulgence of those affections without limit to the imagination. The enraptured devotee pours out her soul in expressions of these feelings, just as a fond mother mixes the caresses given to her child with the most extravagant expressions of love. The devotee even endeavours to excite higher degrees of these affections, by expatiating on such circumstances in the divine conduct with respect to man as naturally awaken them; and he does this without any fear of exceeding; because Infinite Wisdom and Goodness will always justify the sentiment, and free the expression of it from all charge of hyperbole or extravagance.

I am convinced, therefore, that the female mind is well adapted to cultivation by means of religion, and that their native softness and kindness of heart will always be sufficient for procuring it a favourable reception from them. It is therefore with double regret that I see any of them join in the arrogant pretensions of our Illuminated philosophers, who see no need of such assistances for the knowledge and discharge of their duties. There is nothing so unlike that general modesty

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of thought, and that diffidence, which we are diſpoſed to think the character of the female mind. I am inclined to think, that ſuch deviations from the general conduct of the ſex are marks of a harſher character, of a heart that has leſs ſenſibility, and is on the whole leſs amiable than that of others. Yet it muſt be owned that there are ſome ſuch among us. Much, if not the whole of this perverſion, has, I am perſuaded, been owing to the contagion of bad example in the men. They are made familiar with ſuch expreſſions—their firſt horror is gone, and (would to heaven that I were miſtaken!) ſome of them have already wounded their conſciences to ſuch a degree, that they have ſome reaſon to wiſh that religion may be without foundation.

But I would call upon all, and *theſe* women in particular, to conſider this matter in another light—as it may affect themſelves in this life; as it may affect their rank and treatment in ordinary ſociety. I would ſay to them, that if the world ſhall once adopt the belief that this life is our all, then the true maxim of rational conduct will be, to "eat and to drink, ſince to-morrow we are to "die;" and that when they have nothing to truſt to but the fondneſs of the men, they will ſoon find themſelves reduced to ſlavery. The crown which they now wear will fall from their heads, and they will no longer be the arbiters of what is

lovely in human life. The empire of beauty is but ſhort; and even in republican France, it will not be many years that Madame Tallien can faſcinate the Pariſian Theatre by the exhibition of her charms. Man is faſtidious and changeable, he is the ſtronger animal, and can always take his own will with reſpect to woman. At preſent he is with-held by reſpect for her moral worth—and many are with-held by religion—and many more are with-held by public laws, which laws were framed at a time when religious truths influenced the minds and the conduct of men. When the ſentiments of men change, they will not be ſo fooliſh as to keep in force laws which cramp their ſtrongeſt deſires. Then will the rich have their Harems, and the poor their drudges.

Nay, it is not merely the circumſtance of woman's being conſidered as the moral companion of man that gives the ſex its empire among us. There is ſomething of this to be obſerved in all nations. Of all the diſtinctions which ſet our ſpecies above the other ſentient inhabitants of this globe, making us as unlike to the beſt of them as they are to a piece of inanimate matter, there is none more remarkable than the differences obſervable in the appearances of thoſe deſires by which the race is continued. As I obſerved already, ſuch a diſtinction is indiſpenſably neceſſary. There

muſt be a *moral* connection, in order that the human ſpecies may be a race of rational creatures, improveable, not only by the increaſing experience of the individual, but alſo by the heritable experience of the ſucceſſive generations. It may be obſerved between the ſolitary pairs in Labrador, where human nature ſtarves, like the ſtunted oak in the crevice of a barren rock; and it is ſeen in the cultivated ſocieties of Europe, where our nature in a ſeries of ages becomes a majeſtic tree. Whatever may be the native powers of mind in the poor but gentle Eſquimaux, ſhe can do nothing for the ſpecies but nurſe a young one, who cannot run his race of life without inceſſant and hard labour to keep ſoul and body together—here therefore her ſtation in ſociety can hardly have a name, becauſe there can hardly be ſaid to be any aſſociation, except what is neceſſary for repelling the hoſtile attacks of Indians, who ſeem to hunt them without provocation as the dog does the hare. In other parts of the world, we ſee that the conſideration in which the ſex is held, nearly follows the proportions of that aggregate of many different particulars, which we conſider as conſtituting the cultivation of a ſociety. We may perhaps err, and we probably do err, in our eſtimation of thoſe degrees, becauſe we are not perfectly acquainted with what is the real excellence of man. But as far as we

can judge of it, I believe that my aſſertion is acknowledged. On this authority, I might preſume to ſay, that it is in Chriſtian Europe that man *has* attained his higheſt degree of cultivation—and it is undoubtedly here that the women have attained the higheſt rank. I may even add, that it is in that part of Europe where the eſſential and diſtinguiſhing doctrines of Chriſtian morality are moſt generally acknowledged and attended to by the laws of the country, that woman acts the higheſt part in general ſociety. But here we muſt be very careful how we form our notion, either of the ſociety, or of the female rank—it is ſurely not from the two or three dozens who fill the higheſt ranks in the ſtate. Their number is too ſmall, and their ſituation is too particular, to afford the proper average. Beſides, the ſituation of the individuals of this claſs in all countries is very much the ſame—and in all it is very artificial—accordingly their character is fantaſtical. Nor are we to take it from that claſs that is the moſt numerous of all, the loweſt claſs of ſociety, for theſe are the labouring poor, whoſe conduct and occupations are ſo much dictated to them by the hard circumſtances of their ſituation, that ſcarcely any thing is left to their choice. The ſituation of women of this claſs muſt be nearly the ſame in all nations. But this claſs is ſtill ſuſceptible of ſome variety—and we ſee it—

and

and I think that even here there is a perceptible ſuperiority of the female rank in thoſe countries where the pureſt Chriſtianity prevails. We muſt however take our meaſures or proportions from a numerous claſs, but alſo a claſs in ſomewhat of eaſy circumſtances, where moral ſentiments call ſome attention, and perſons have ſome choice in their conduct. And here, although I cannot pretend to have had many opportunities of obſervation, yet I have had ſome. I can venture to ſay that it is not in Ruſſia, nor in Spain, that woman is, on the whole, the moſt important as a member of the community. I would ſay, that in Britain her important rights are more generally reſpected than any where elſe. No where is a man's character ſo much hurt by conjugal infidelity—no where is it ſo difficult to rub off the ſtigma of baſtardy, or to procure a decent reception or ſociety for an improper connection; and I believe it will readily be granted, that the ſhare of the women in ſucceſſions, their authority in all matters of domeſtic truſt, and even their opinions in what concerns life and manners, are fully more reſpected here than in any country.

I have long been of the opinion, (and every obſervation that I have been able to make ſince I firſt formed it confirms me in it,) that woman is indebted to Chriſtianity alone for the high rank

ſhe holds in ſociety. Look into the writings of antiquity—into the works of the Greek and Latin poets—into the numberleſs panegyrics of the ſex, to be found both in proſe and verſe—I can find little, very little indeed, where woman is treated with reſpect—there is no want of love, that is, of fondneſs, of beauty, of charms, of graces. But of woman as the equal of man, as a moral companion, travelling with him the road to felicity—as his adviſer—his ſolace in misfortune—as a pattern from which he may ſometimes copy with advantage;—of all this there is hardly a trace. Woman is always mentioned as an object of paſſion. Chaſtity, modeſty, ſober-mindedneſs, are all conſidered in relation to this ſingle point; or ſometimes as of importance in reſpect of economy or domeſtic quiet. Recollect the famous ſpeech of Metellus Numidicus to the Roman people, when, as Cenſor, he was recommending marriage.

" Si ſine uxore poſſemus Quirites eſſe, omnes " eâ moleſtiâ careremus. Sed quoniam ita na- " tura tradidit, ut nec cum illis commodè, nec " ſine illis ullo modo vivi poſſet, ſaluti perpetuæ " potius quam brevi voluptati conſulendum."

Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. I. 6.

What does Ovid, the great panegyriſt of the ſex, ſay for his beloved daughter, whom he had

praiſed

praiſed for her attractions in various places of his Triſtia and other compoſitions? He is writing her Epitaph—and the only thing he can ſay of her as a rational creature is, that ſhe was—*Domiſida*—not a Gadabout.—Search Apuleius, where you will find many female characters *in abſtracto*—You will find that his little Photis (a cook-maid and ſtrumpet) was neareſt to his heart, after all his philoſophy. Nay, in his pretty ſtory of Cupid and Pſyche, which the very wiſe will tell you is a fine leſſon of moral philoſophy, and a repreſentation of the operations of the intellectual and moral faculties of the human ſoul, a ſtory which gave him the fineſt opportunity, nay, almoſt made it neceſſary for him to inſert whatever can ornament the female character; what is his Pſyche but a beautiful, fond, and ſilly girl; and what are the whole fruits of any acquaintance with the ſex?—Pleaſure. But why take more pains in the ſearch?—Look at their immortal goddeſſes—is there one among them whom a wiſe man would ſelect for a wife or a friend?—I grant that a Lucretia is praiſed—a Portia, an Arria, a Zenobia—but theſe are individual characters—not repreſentatives of the ſex. The only Grecian ladies who made a figure by intellectual talents, were your Aſpaſias, Sapphos, Phrynes, and other nymphs of this caſt, who had emerged from the general inſignificance of

the ſex, by throwing away what we are accuſtomed to call its greateſt ornament.

I think that the firſt piece in which woman is pictured as a reſpectable character, is the oldeſt novel that I am acquainted with, written by a Chriſtian Biſhop, Heliodorus—I mean the Adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea. I think that the Heroine is a greater character than you will meet with in all the annals of antiquity. And it is worth while to obſerve what was the effect of this painting. The poor Biſhop had been depoſed, and even excommunicated, for doctrinal errors, and for drawing ſuch a picture of a heathen. The magiſtrates of Antioch, the moſt voluptuous and corrupted city of the Eaſt, wrote to the Emperor, telling him that this book had reformed the ladies of their city, where Julian the Emperor and his Sophiſts had formerly preached in vain, and they therefore prayed that the good Biſhop might not be deprived of his mitre.—It is true, we read of Hypatia, daughter of Theon, the mathematician at Alexandria, who was a prodigy of excellence, and taught philoſophy, *i. e.* the art of leading a good and happy life, with great applauſe in the famous Alexandrian ſchool.—But ſhe alſo was in the times of Chriſtianity, and was the intimate friend of Syncellus and other Chriſtian Biſhops.

It is undoubtedly Chriſtianity that has ſet woman on her throne, making her in every reſpect the equal of man, bound to the ſame duties, and candidate for the ſame happineſs. Mark how woman is deſcribed by a Chriſtian poet,

——" Yet when I approach
Her lovelineſs, ſo abſolute ſhe ſeems,
And in herſelf complete, ſo well to know
Her own, that what ſhe wills to do or ſay
Seems *wiſeſt, virtuouſeſt, diſcreeteſt, beſt.*

Neither her outſide, form'd ſo fair,——
So much delights me, as *thoſe graceful acts,*
Thoſe thouſand decencies that daily flow
From all her words and actions, mix'd with love
And ſweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd
Union of mind, or in us both one ſoul.

——And, to conſummate all,
Greatneſs of mind, and *nobleneſs*, their ſeat
Build in her loveliеſt, *and create an awe*
About her, as a guard angelic plac'd."

MILTON.

This is really moral painting, without any abatement of female charms.

This is the natural conſequence of that purity of heart, which is ſo much inſiſted on in the Chriſtian morality. In the inſtructions of the heathen philoſophers, it is either not mentioned at all, or at moſt, it is recommended coldly, as a

thing proper, and worthy of a mind attentive to great things.—But, in Chriſtianity, it is inſiſted on as an indiſpenſable duty, and enforced by many arguments peculiar to itſelf.

It is worthy of obſervation, that the moſt prominent ſuperſtitions which have diſhonoured the Chriſtian churches, have been the exceſſive refinements which the enthuſiaſtic admiration of heroic purity has allowed the holy trade to introduce into the manufacture of our ſpiritual fetters. Without this enthuſiaſm, cold expediency would not have been able to make the Monaſtic vow ſo general, nor have given us ſuch numbers of convents. Theſe were generally founded by ſuch enthuſiaſts—the rulers indeed of the church *encouraged* this to the utmoſt, as the beſt levy for the ſpiritual power—but they could not *enjoin* ſuch foundations. From the ſame ſource we may derive the chief influence of auricular confeſſion. When theſe were firmly eſtabliſhed, and were venerated, almoſt all the other corruptions of Chriſtianity followed of courſe. I may almoſt add, that though it is here that Chriſtianity has ſuffered the moſt violent attacks, it is here that the place is moſt tenable.—Nothing tends ſo much to knit all the ties of ſociety as the endearing connections of family, and whatever tends to leſſen our veneration for the marriage-contract,

weakens

weakens them in the moſt effectual manner. Purity of manners is its moſt effectual ſupport, and pure thoughts are the only ſources from which pure manners can flow. I readily grant that in former times this veneration for perſonal purity was carried to an extravagant height, and that ſeveral very ridiculous fancies and cuſtoms aroſe from this. Romantic love and chivalry are ſtrong inſtances of the ſtrange vagaries of our imagination, when carried along by this enthuſiaſtic admiration of female purity; and ſo unnatural and forced, that they could only be temporary faſhions. But I believe that, with all their ridicule, it would be a happy nation where this was the general creed and practice. Nor can I help thinking a nation on its decline, when the domeſtic connections ceaſe to be venerated, and the illegitimate offspring of a nabob or a nobleman are received with eaſe into good company.

Nothing is more clear than that the deſign of the Illuminati was to aboliſh Chriſtianity—and we now ſee how effectual this would be for the corruption of the fair ſex, a purpoſe which they eagerly wiſhed to gain, that they might corrupt the men. But if the women would retain the rank they now hold, they will be careful to preſerve in full force on their minds this religion, ſo congenial to their diſpoſitions, which nature has made affectionate and kind.

And

And with reſpect to the men, is it not egregious folly to encourage any thing that can tend to blaſt our ſweeteſt enjoyments? Shall we not do this moſt effectually if we attempt to corrupt what nature will always make us conſider as the higheſt elegance of life? The divinity of the Stoics was, "*Mens ſana in corpore ſano*,"—but it is equally true,

"*Gratior eſt pulchro veniens e corpore virtus.*"

If therefore, inſtead of profeſſedly tainting what is of itſelf beautiful, we could really work it up to

"That fair form, which, wove in fancy's loom,
"Floats in light viſions round the poet's head,"

and make woman a pattern of perfection, we ſhould undoubtedly add more to the heartfelt happineſs of life than by all the diſcoveries of the Illuminati. See what was the effect of Theagenes and Chariclea.

And we ſhould remember that with the fate of woman that of man is indiſſolubly knit. The voice of nature ſpoke through our immortal bard, when he made Adam ſay,

——"From thy ſtate
"Mine never ſhall be parted, bliſs or woe."

Should

Should we ſuffer the contagion to touch our fair partner, all is gone, and too late ſhall we ſay,

" O faireſt of creation! laſt and beſt
" Of all God's works, creature in whom excell'd
" Whatever can to ſight or thought be form'd,
" *Holy, divine, good, amiable, or ſweet!*
" How art thou loſt,—and now to death devote?—
" And *me* with *thee* haſt ruin'd; for with thee
" Certain my reſolution is to die."

CHAP. III.

The German Union.

WHEN ſuch a fermentation had been excited in the public mind, it cannot be ſuppoſed that the formal ſuppreſſion of the Order of the Illuminati in Bavaria, and in the Duchy of Wirtemberg, by the reigning Princes, would bring all to reſt again. By no means. The minds of men were prediſpoſed for a change by the reſtleſs ſpirit of ſpeculation in every kind of enquiry, and the leaven had been carefully and ſkilfully diſſeminated in every quarter of the empire, and even in foreign countries. Weiſhaupt ſaid, on good grounds, that " if the Order ſhould be diſco-" vered and ſuppreſſed, he would reſtore it with " tenfold energy in a twelvemonth." Even in thoſe ſtates where it was formally aboliſhed, nothing could hinder the enliſting new members, and

and carrying on all the purpoſes of the Order. The *Areopagitæ* might indeed be changed, and the ſeat of the direction transferred to ſome other place; but the Minerval and his Mentor could meet as formerly, and a ride of a few miles into another State, would bring him to a Lodge, where the young would be amuſed, and the more advanced would be engaged in ſerious miſchief. Weiſhaupt never liked childrens play. He indulged Philo in it, becauſe he ſaw him taken with ſuch rattles; but his own projects were dark and ſolemn, and it was a relief to him now to be freed from that mummery. He ſoon found the bent of the perſon's mind on whom he had ſet his talons, and he ſays, that "no man ever "eſcaped him whom he thought it worth while "to ſecure." He had already filled the liſts with enough of the young and gay, and when the preſent condition of the Order required ſly and experienced heads, he no longer courted them by play-things. He communicated the ranks and the inſtructions by a letter, without any ceremony. The correſpondence with Philo at the time of the breach with him ſhows the ſuperiority of Spartacus. Philo is in a rage, provoked to find a pitiful profeſſor diſcontented with the immenſe ſervices which he had received from a gentleman of his rank, and treating him with autho-

rity, and with diſingenuity.—He tells Spartacus what ſtill greater ſervices he can do the Order, and that he can alſo ruin it with a breath.—But in the midſt of this rage, he propoſes a thouſand modes of reconcilement. The ſmalleſt conceſſion would make him hug Spartacus in his arms. But Spartacus is deaf to all his threats, and firm as a rock. Though he is conſcious of his own vile conduct, he abates not in the ſmalleſt point his abſolute authority—requires the moſt implicit ſubmiſſion, which he ſays "is due, not to "him, but to the Order, and without which the "Order muſt immediately go to ruin."—He does not even deign to challenge Philo to do his worſt, but allows him to go out of the Order without one angry word. This ſhows his confidence in the energy of that ſpirit of reſtleſs diſcontent, and that hankering after reform which he had ſo ſucceſsfully ſpread abroad.

This had indeed ariſen to an unparalleled height, unexpected even by the ſeditious themſelves. This appeared in a remarkable manner by the reception given to the infamous letters on the conſtitution of the Pruſſian States.

The general opinion was, that Mirabeau was the author of the letters themſelves, and it was perfectly underſtood by every perſon, that the tranſlation into French was a joint contrivance of

of Mirabeau and Nicholai. I was assured of this by the British Minister at that Court. There are some blunders in respect of names, which an inhabitant of the country could hardly be guilty of, but are very consistent with the self-conceit and precipitancy of this Frenchman.—There are several instances of the same kind in two pieces, which are known for certain to be his, viz. the *Chronique scandaleuse* and the *Histoire secrette de la Cour de Berlin*. These letters were in every hand, and were mentioned in every conversation, even in the Prussian dominions—and in other places of the Empire they were quoted, and praised, and commented on, although some of their contents were nothing short of rebellion.

Mirabeau had a large portion of that self-conceit which distinguishes his countrymen. He thought himself qualified not only for any high office in administration, but even for managing the whole affairs of the new King. He therefore endeavoured to obtain some post of honour. But he was disappointed, and, in revenge, did every thing in his power to make those in administration the objects of public ridicule and reproach. His licentious and profligate manners were such as excluded him from the society of the people of the first classes, whom it behoved to pay some attention to personal dignity. His opinions were in the highest degree corrupted, and he openly pro-

feſſed Atheiſm. This made him peculiarly obnoxious to the King, who was determined to correct the diſturbances and diſquiets which had ariſen in the Pruſſian ſtates from the indifference of his predeceſſor in thoſe matters. Mirabeau therefore attached himſelf to a junto of writers and ſcribblers, who had united in order to diſſeminate licentious principles, both in reſpect of religion and of government. His wit and fancy were great, and he had not perhaps his equal for eloquent and biting ſatire. He was therefore careſſed by thoſe writers as a moſt valuable acquiſition to their Society. He took all this deference as his juſt due; and was ſo confident in his powers, and ſo fooliſh, as to adviſe, and even to admoniſh, the King. Highly obnoxious by ſuch conduct, he was excluded from any chance of preferment, and was exceedingly out of humour. In this ſtate of mind he was in a fit frame for Illumination, Spartacus had been eyeing him for ſome time, and at laſt communicated this honour to him through the intermedium of Mauvillon, another Frenchman, Lieutenant-Colonel in the ſervice of the Duke of Brunſwick. This perſon had been moſt active during the formal exiſtence of the Order, and had contributed much to its reception in the Proteſtant ſtates—he remained long concealed. Indeed his Illumination was not known till the invaſion of Holland

by

by the French. Mauvillon then ſtepped forth, avowed his principles, and recommended the example of the French to the Germans. This encouragement brought even Philo again on the ſtage, notwithſtanding his reſentment againſt Spartacus, and his ſolemn declaration of having abjured all ſuch ſocieties.—Theſe, and a thouſand ſuch facts, ſhow that the ſeeds of licentious Coſmopolitiſm had taken deep root, and that cutting down the crop had by no means deſtroyed the baneful plant.—But this is not all—a new method of cultivation had been invented, and immediately adopted, and it was now growing over all Europe in another form.

I have already taken notice of the general perverſion of the public mind which co-operated with the ſchiſms of Free Maſonry in procuring a liſtening ear to Spartacus and his aſſociates. It will not be doubted but that the machinations of the Illuminati increaſed this, even among thoſe who did not enter into the Order. It was eaſier to diminiſh the reſpect for civil eſtabliſhments in Germany than in almoſt any other country. The frivolity of the ranks and court-offices in the different confederated petty ſtates made it impoſſible to combine dignity with the habits of a ſcanty income.—It was ſtill eaſier to expoſe to ridicule and reproach thoſe numberleſs abuſes which the folly and the vices of men

had introduced into religion. The influence on the public mind which naturally attaches to the venerable office of a moral inſtructor, was prodigiouſly diminiſhed by the continual diſputes of the Catholics and Proteſtants, which were carried on with great heat in every little principality. The freedom of enquiry, which was ſupported by the ſtate in Proteſtant Germany, was terribly abuſed, (for what will the folly of man not abuſe?) and degenerated into a wanton licentiouſneſs of thought, and a rage for ſpeculation and ſcepticiſm on every ſubject whatever. The ſtruggle, which was originally between the Catholics and the Proteſtants, had changed, during the gradual progreſs of luxury and immorality, into a conteſt between reaſon and ſuperſtition. And in this conteſt the denomination of ſuperſtition had been gradually extended to every doctrine which profeſſed to be of divine revelation, and reaſon was declared to be, for certain, the only way in which the Deity can inform the human mind.

Some reſpectable Catholics had publiſhed works filled with liberal ſentiments. Theſe were repreſented as villanous machinations to inveigle Proteſtants. On the other hand, ſome Proteſtant divines had propoſed to imitate this liberality by making conceſſions which might enable a good Catholic to live more at eaſe among the Proteſtants, and might even accelerate an union of faiths;

faiths. This was hooted beyond meaſure, as Jeſuitical, and big with danger. While the ſceptical junto, headed by the editors of the *Deutſche Bibliothek* and the *Berlin Monatſchrift*, were recommending every performance that was hoſtile to the eſtabliſhed faith of the country, Leuchtſenring was equally buſy, finding Jeſuits in every corner, and went about with all the inquietude of a madman, picking up anecdotes. Zimmerman, the reſpectable phyſician of Frederick King of Pruſſia, gives a diverting account of a viſit which he had from Leuchtſenring at Hanover, all trembling with fears of Jeſuits, and wiſhing to perſuade him that his life was in danger from them. Nicholai was now on the hunt, and during this cruſade Philo laid hands on him, being introduced to his acquaintance by Leuchtſenring, who was, by this time, cured of his zeal for Proteſtantiſm, and had become a diſciple of Illuminatiſm. Philo had gained his good opinion by the violent attack which he had publiſhed on the Jeſuits and Roſycrucians by the orders of Spartacus.—He had not far to go in gaining over Nicholai, who was at this time making a tour through the Lodges. The ſparks of Illumination which he perceived in many of them pleaſed him exceedingly, and he very cheerfully received the precious ſecret from Philo.

This acquiſition to the Order was made in January 1782. Spartacus was delighted with it, conſidered Nicholai as a moſt excellent champion, and gave him the name of *Lucian*, the great ſcoffer at all religion, as aptly expreſſing his character.

Nicholai, on his return to Berlin, publiſhed many volumes of his diſcoveries. One would imagine that not a Jeſuit had eſcaped him. He mentions many ſtrange ſchiſmatics, both in religion and in Maſonry—But he never once mentions an *Illuminatus*.—When they were firſt checked, and before the diſcovery of the ſecret correſpondence, he defended them, and ſtrongly reprobated the proceedings of the Elector of Bavaria, calling it vile perſecution.—Nay, after the diſcovery of the letters found in Zwack's houſe, he perſiſted in his defence, vindicated the poſſeſſion of the abominable receipts, and highly extolled the character of Weiſhaupt.—But when the diſcovery of papers in the houſe of Batz informed the public that he himſelf had long been an *Illuminatus*, he was ſadly put to it to reconcile his defence with any pretenſions to religion *.—Weiſhaupt

* He impudently pretended that the papers containing the ſyſtem and doctrines of Illumanitiſm, came to him at Berlin, from an unknown hand. But no one believed him—it was inconſiſtent with what is ſaid of him in the ſecret correſpondence. He had ſaid the ſame thing concerning the

ſhaupt ſaved him from diſgrace, as he thought, by his publication of the ſyſtem of Illuminatiſm—Nicholai then boldly ſaid that he knew no more of the Order than was contained in that book, that is, only the two firſt degrees.

But before this, Nicholai had made to himſelf a moſt formidable enemy. The hiſtory of this conteſt is curious in itſelf, and gives us a very inſtructive picture of the machinations of that *conjuration des philoſophes*, or gang of ſcribblers who were leagued againſt the peace of the world. The reader will therefore find it to our purpoſe. On the authority of a lady in Courland, a Counteſs von der Recke, Nicholai had accuſed Dr. Stark of Darmſtadt (who made ſuch a figure in Free Maſonry) of Jeſuitiſm, and of having even ſubmitted to the *tonſure*. Stark was a moſt reſtleſs ſpirit—had gone through every myſtery in Germany, Illuminatiſm excepted, and had ferreted out many of Nicholai's hidden tranſactions. He was alſo an unwearied book-maker, and dealt out theſe diſcoveries by degrees, keeping the eye of the pub-

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the French tranſlation of the Letters on the Conſtitution of the Pruſſian States. Fifty copies were found in his warehouſe. He ſaid that they had been ſent from Straſburg, and that he had never ſold one of them.—Suppoſing both theſe aſſertions to be true, it appears that Nicholai was conſidered as a very proper hand for diſperſing ſuch poiſon.

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lic continually upon Nicholai. He had ſuſpected his Illumination for ſome time paſt, and when the ſecret came out, by Spartacus's letter, where he boaſts of his acquiſition, calling Nicholai a moſt ſturdy combatant, and ſaying that he was *contentiſſimus*, Stark left no ſtone unturned till he diſcovered that Nicholai had been initiated in all the horrid and moſt profligate myſteries of Illuminatiſm, and that Spartacus had at the very firſt entruſted him with his moſt darling ſecrets, and adviſed with him on many occaſions *.

This

* Of this we have complete proof in the private correſpondence. Philo, ſpeaking in one of his letters of the gradual change which was to be produced in the minds of their pupils from Chriſtianity to Deiſm, ſays, "Nicholai "informs me, that even the pious Zollikofer has now been "convinced that it would be proper to ſet up a deiſtical "church in Berlin." It is in vain that Nicholai ſays that his knowledge of the Order was only of what Weiſhaupt had publiſhed; for Philo ſays that that corrected ſyſtem had not been introduced into it when he quitted it in 1784. But Nicholai deſerves no credit—he is one of the moſt ſcandalous examples of the operation of the principles of Weiſhaupt. He procured admiſſion into the Lodges of Free Maſons and Roſycrucians, merely to act the diſhonourable part of a ſpy, and he betrayed their ſecrets as far as he could. In the appendix to the 7th volume of his journey, he declaims againſt the Templar Maſons, Roſycrucians, and Jeſuits, for their blind ſubmiſſion to unknown ſuperiors, for their ſuperſtitions, their prieſthoods, and their baſe principles—and yet had been five years in a ſociety in which all theſe were carried to the greateſt

This complete blaſting of his moral character could not be patiently borne, and Nicholai was in his turn the bitter enemy of Stark, and, in the paroxyſms of his anger, publiſhed every idle tale, although he was often obliged to contradict them in the next Review. In the courſe of this attack and defence, Dr. Stark diſcovered the revival of the Illuminati, or at leaſt a ſociety which carried on the ſame great work in a ſomewhat different way.

Dr. Stark had written a defence againſt one of Nicholai's accuſations, and wiſhed to have it printed at Leipzig. He therefore ſent the manuſcript to a friend, who reſided there. This friend immediately propoſed it to a moſt improper perſon, Mr. Pott, who had written an anonymous commentary on the King of Pruſſia's edict for the uniformity of religious worſhip in his dominions. This is one of the moſt ſhameleſs attacks on the eſtabliſhed faith of the nation, and the authority and conduct of the Prince, that can be imagined. Stark's friend was ignorant of this,

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greateſt height. He remains true to the Illuminati alone, becauſe they had the ſame object in view with himſelf and his atheiſtical aſſociates. His defence of Proteſtantiſm is all a cheat; and perhaps he may be conſidered as an enemy equally formidable with Weiſhaupt himſelf. This is the reaſon why he occupies ſo many of theſe pages.

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and ſpoke to Pott, as the partner of the great publiſher Walther. They, without heſitation, undertook the publiſhing; but when ſix weeks had paſſed over, Stark's friend found that it was not begun. Some exceptionable paſſages, which treated with diſreſpect the religion of Reaſon, were given as the cauſe of delay; and he was told that the author had been written to about them, but had not yet returned an anſwer. This was afterwards found to be falſe. Then a paſſage in the preface was objected to, as treating roughly a Lady in Courland, which Walther could not print, becauſe he had connections with that court. The author muſt be entreated to change his expreſſions. After another delay, paper was wanting. The MS. was withdrawn. Walther now ſaid that he would print it immediately, and again got it into his hands, promiſing to ſend the ſheets as they came from the preſs. Theſe not appearing for a long time, the agent made enquiry, and found that it was ſent to Michaelis at Halle, to be printed there. The agent immediately went thither, and found that it was printing with great alterations, another title, and a guide or key, in which the work was perverted and turned into ridicule by a Dr. Bahrdt, who reſided in that neighbourhood. An action of recovery and damages was immediately commenced at Leipzig, and after much conteſt, an interdict was put on Michaelis's edition,

tion, and a proper edition was ordered immediately from Walther, with ſecurity that it ſhould appear before Bahrdt's key. Yet when it was produced at the next fair, the bookſellers had been already ſupplied with the ſpurious edition; and as this was accompanied by the key, it was much more ſaleable ware, and completely ſupplanted the other.

This is ſurely a ſtrong inſtance of the machinations by which the Illuminati have attempted to deſtroy the Liberty of the Preſs, and the power they have to diſcourage or ſuppreſs any thing that is not agreeable to the taſte of the literary junto. It was in the courſe of this tranſaction that Dr. Stark's agent found people talking in the coffee-houſes of Leipzig and Halle of the advantages of public libraries, and of libraries by ſubſcription, in every town, where perſons could, at a ſmall expence, ſee what was paſſing in the learned world. As he could not but acquieſce in theſe points, they who held this language began to talk of a general Aſſociation, which ſhould act in concert over all Germany, and make a full communication of its numerous literary productions by forming ſocieties for reading and inſtruction, which ſhould be regularly ſupplied with every publication. Flying ſheets and pamphlets were afterwards put into his hands, ſtating the great uſe of ſuch an Aſſociation, and the effect which it would

would ſpeedily produce by enlightening the nation. By and by he learned that ſuch an Aſſociation did really exiſt, and that it was called the GERMAN UNION, for ROOTING OUT SUPERSTITION AND PREJUDICES, AND ADVANCING TRUE CHRISTIANITY. On enquiry, however, he found that this was to be a Secret Society, becauſe it had to combat prejudices which were ſupported by the great of this world, and becauſe its aim was to promote that general information which prieſts and deſpots dreaded above all things. This Aſſociation was acceſſible only through the reading ſocieties, and oaths of ſecrecy and fidelity were required. In ſhort, it appeared to be the old ſong of the Illuminati.

This diſcovery was immediately announced to the public, in an anonymous publication in defence of Dr. Stark. It is ſuppoſed to be his own performance. It diſcloſes a ſcene of complicated villany and folly, in which the Lady in Courland makes a very ſtrange figure. She appears to be a wild fanatic, deeply engaged in magic and ghoſt-raiſing, and leagued with Nicholai, Gedicke, and Bieſter, againſt Dr. Stark. He is very completely cleared of the facts alleged againſt him; and his three male opponents appear void of all principle and enemies of all religion. Stark however would, in Britain, be a very ſingular character, conſidered as a clergyman. The frivolous ſecrets

of

of Maſonry have either engroſſed his whole mind, or he has laboured in them as a lucrative trade, by which he took advantage of the folly of others. The conteſt between Stark and the Triumvirate at Berlin engaged the public attention much more than we ſhould imagine that a thing of ſo private a nature would do. But the characters were very notorious; and it turned the attention of the public to thoſe clandeſtine attacks which were made in every quarter on the civil and religious eſtabliſhments. It was obvious to every perſon, that theſe reading ſocieties had all on a ſudden become very numerous; and the characters of thoſe who patroniſed them only increaſed the ſuſpicions which were now raiſed.

The firſt work that ſpeaks expreſsly of the German Union, is a very ſenſible performance "*On the Right of Princes to direct the Religion of "their Subjects.*" The next is a curious work, a ſort of narrative *Dialogue on the Characters of Nicholai, Gedicke, and Bieſter.* It is chiefly occupied with the conteſt with Dr. Stark, but in the 5th part, it treats particularly of the German Union.

About the ſame time appeared ſome farther account, in a book called *Archives of Fanaticiſm and Illuminatiſm.* But all theſe accounts are very vague and unſatisfactory. The fulleſt account is to be had in a work publiſhed at Leipzig by Goſchen

the bookſeller. It is entitled, " *More Notes than* " *Text, or the German Union of XXII, a new Se-* " *cret Society for the Good of Mankind,*" *Leipzig*, 1789. The publiſher ſays that it was ſent him by an unknown hand, and that he publiſhed it with all ſpeed, on account of the many miſchiefs which this Society, (of which he had before heard ſeveral reports,) might do to the world, and to the trade, if allowed to go on working in ſecret. From this work, therefore, we may form a notion of this redoubtable Society, and judge how far it is practicable to prevent ſuch ſecret machinations againſt the peace and happineſs of mankind.

There is another work, " *Further Information* " *concerning the German Union*, (Nähere Beleuch- " tung der Deutſche Union,) *alſo ſhowing how*, " *for a moderate price, one may become a Scotch* " *Free Maſon.*" *Frankfort and Leipzig*, 1789. The author ſays that he had all the papers in his hands; whereas the author of *More Notes than Text* acknowledges the want of ſome. But very little additional light is thrown on the ſubject by this work, and the firſt is ſtill the moſt inſtructive, and will chiefly be followed in the account which is now to be laid before the reader.

The book *More Notes than Text* contains plans and letters, which the Twenty-two United Brethren have allowed to be given out, and of which the

the greateſt part were printed, but were entruſted only to aſſured members.

N° I. is the firſt plan, printed on a ſingle quarto page, and is addreſſed, *To all the Friends of Reaſon, of Truth, and of Virtue.* It is pretty well written, and ſtates, among other things, that "becauſe a great number of perſons are "labouring, with united effort, to bring Reaſon "under the yoke, and to prevent all inſtruction, "it is therefore neceſſary that there be a com-"bination which ſhall work in oppoſition to "them, ſo that mankind may not ſink anew "into irrecoverable barbariſm, when Reaſon and "Virtue ſhall have been completely ſubdued, "overpowered by the reſtraints which are put "on our opinions."——"For this noble purpoſe "a company of twenty-two perſons, public in-"ſtructors, and men in private ſtations, have "united themſelves, according to a plan which "they have had under conſideration for more "than a year and a half, and which, in their "opinion, contains a method that is fair and "irreſiſtible by any human power, for promo-"ing the enlightening and forming of mankind, "and that will gradually remove all the ob-"ſtacles which ſuperſtition ſupported by force "has hitherto put in the way."

This addreſs is intended for an enliſting adver-tiſement, and, after a few inſignificant remarks

on the Aſſociation, a rix-dahler is required along with the ſubſcription of acquieſcence in the plan, as a compenſation for the expences attending this mode of intimation and conſent.

Whoever pays the rix-dahler, and declares his wiſh to join the Aſſociation, receives in a few days, N° II. which is a form of the Oath of ſecrecy, alſo printed on a ſingle 4to page. Having ſubſcribed this, and given a full deſignation of himſelf, he returns it agreeably to a certain addreſs; and ſoon after, he gets N° III. printed on a 4to ſheet. This number contains what is called the Second Plan, to which all the ſubſequent plans and circular letters refer. A copy therefore of this will give us a pretty full and juſt notion of the Order, and its mode of operation. It is intitled,

The Plan of the Twenty-Two,

and begins with this declaration: "We have "united, in order to accompliſh the aim of the "exalted Founder of Chriſtianity, viz. the en- "lightening of mankind, and the dethronement "of ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, by means of a "ſecret fraternization of all who love the work "of God.

"Our

" Our firſt exertion, which has already been
" very extenſive, conſiſts in this, that, by means
" of confidential perſons, we allow ourſelves to
" be announced every where as a Society unit-
" ed for the above-mentioned purpoſe; and we
" invite and admit into brotherhood with our-
" ſelves every perſon who has a ſenſe of the im-
" portance of this matter, and wiſhes to apply
" to us and ſee our plans.

" We labour firſt of all to draw into our As-
" ſociation all good and learned writers. This
" we imagine will be the eaſier obtained, as they
" muſt derive an evident advantage from it.
" Next to ſuch men, we ſeek to gain the maſ-
" ters and ſecretaries of the Poſt-offices, in or-
" der to facilitate our correſpondence.

" Beſides theſe, we receive perſons of every
" condition and ſtation, excepting princes and
" their miniſters. Their favourites, however,
" may be admitted, and may be uſeful by their
" influence in behalf of Truth and Virtue.

" When any perſon writes to us, we ſend him
" an oath, by which he muſt abjure all treachery
" or diſcovery of the Aſſociation, till circum-
" ſtances ſhall make it proper for us to come
" forward and ſhow ourſelves to the world.
" When he ſubſcribes the oath, he receives the
" plan, and if he finds this to be what ſatisfies
" his mind as a thing good and honourable, he

" becomes our friend only in ſo far as he en-
" deavours to gain over his friends and ac-
" quaintances. Thus we learn who are really
" our zealous friends, and our numbers in-
" creaſe in a double proportion.

" This procedure is to continue till Provi-
" dence ſhall ſo far bleſs our endeavours, that
" we acquire an active Brother and coadjutor in
" every place of note, where there is any lite-
" rary profeſſion; and for this purpoſe we have
" a ſecretary and proper office in the centre of
" the Aſſociation, where every thing is expe-
" dited, and all reports received. When this
" happy epoch arrives, we begin our ſecond
" operation." That is to ſay,

" We intimate to all the Brotherhood in every
" quarter, on a certain day, *that* THE GERMAN
" UNION *has now acquired a conſiſtence*, and we
" now divide the fraterniſed part of the nation
" into ten or twelve *Provinces* or *Dioceſes*, each
" directed by its *Dioceſan* at his office; and theſe
" are ſo arranged in due ſubordination, that all
" buſineſs comes into the UNION-HOUSE as into
" the centre of the whole.

" Agreeably to this manner of proceeding
" there are two claſſes of the Brotherhood, the
" *Ordinary* and the *Managing* Brethren. The
" latter alone know the aim of the Aſſociation,
" and all the means for attaining it; and they

" alone

alone conſtitute the UNION, the name, and the connection of which is not intended to be at all conſpicuous in the world.

" To this end the buſineſs takes a new external form. The Brethren, to wit, ſpeak not of the Union in the places where they reſide, nor of a Society, nor of enlightening the people; but they aſſemble, and act together in every quarter, merely as a LITERARY SOCIETY, bring into it all the lovers of reading and of uſeful knowledge; and ſuch in fact are the *Ordinary Brethren*, who only know that an Aſſociation exiſts in their place of reſidence for the encouragement of literary men, but by no means that it has any connection with any other ſimilar Society, and that they all conſtitute one whole. But theſe Societies will naturally point out to the intelligent Brethren ſuch perſons as are proper to be ſelected for carrying forward the great work. For perſons of a ſerious turn of mind are not mere loungers in ſuch company, but ſhow in their converſation the intereſt they take in real inſtruction. And the caſt of their reading, which muſt not be checked in the beginning in the ſmalleſt degree, although it may be gradually directed to proper ſubjects of information, will point out in the moſt unequivocal manner their peculiar ways of thinking on the important ſub-

" jects connected with our great object. Here, " therefore, the active Brethren will observe in " secret, and will select those whom they think " valuable acquisitions to the sacred Union. " They will invite such persons to unite with " themselves in their endeavours to enlighten the " rest of mankind, by calling their attention to " profitable subjects of reading, and to proper " books. Reading Societies, therefore, are to " be formed in every quarter, and to be furnish- " ed with proper books. In this provision at- " tention must be paid to two things. The taste " of the public must be complied with, that the " Society may have any effect at all in bringing " men together who are born for somewhat more " than just to look about them. But the gene- " ral taste may, and must also be carefully and " skilfully directed to subjects that will enlarge " the comprehension, will fortify the heart, and, " by habituating the mind to novelty, and to " successful discovery, both in physics and in mo- " rals, will hinder the timid from being startled " at doctrines and maxims which are singu- " lar, or perhaps opposite to those which are " current in ordinary society. Commonly a man " speaks as if he thought he was uttering his " own sentiments, while he is only echoing the " general sound. Our minds are dressed in a " prevailing fashion as much as our bodies, and

" with

" with ſtuff as little congenial to ſentiment, as " a piece of woollen cloth is to the human ſkin. " So careleſs and indolent are men, even in " what they call ſerious converſation. Till re- " flection becomes a habit, what is really a " thought ſtartles, however ſimple, and, if really " uncommon, it aſtoniſhes and confounds. No- " thing, therefore, can ſo powerfully tend to the " improvement of the human character, as well- " managed Reading Societies.

" When theſe have been eſtabliſhed in differ- " ent places, we muſt endeavour to accompliſh " the following intermediate plans: 1. To intro- " duce a general literary Gazette or Review, " which, by uniting all the learned Brethren, " and combining with judgment and addreſs all " their talents, and ſteadily proceeding accord- " ing to a diſtinct and preciſe plan, may in " time ſupplant every other Gazette, a thing " which its intrinſic merit and comprehenſive " plan will eaſily accompliſh. 2. To ſelect a ſe- " cretary for our Society, who ſhall have it in " charge to commiſſion the books which they " ſhall ſelect in conformity to the great aim of " the Aſſociation, and who ſhall undertake to " commiſſion all other books for the curious in " his neighbourhood. If there be a bookſeller " in the place, who can be gained over and

" ſworn into the Society, it will be proper to " chooſe him for this office, ſince, as will be " made more plain afterwards, the trade will " gradually come into the plan, and fall into the " hands of the Union.

" And now, every eye can perceive the pro- " greſſive moral influence which the Union will " acquire on the nation. Let us only conceive " what ſuperſtition will loſe, and what inſtruc- " tion muſt gain by this; when, 1. In every " Reading Society the books are ſelected by our " Fraternity. 2. When we have confidential " perſons in every quarter, who will make it " their ſerious concern to ſpread ſuch perform- " ances as promote the enlightening of mankind, " and to introduce them even into every cot- " tage. 3. When we have the loud voice of the " public on our ſide, and ſince we are able, " either to baniſh into the ſhade all the fanatical " writings which appear in the reviews that are " commonly read, or to warn the public againſt " them; and, on the other hand, to bring into " notice and recommend thoſe performances " alone which give light to the human mind. " 4. When we by degrees bring the whole trade " of bookſelling into our hands, (as the good " writers will ſend all their performances into " the market through our means,) we ſhall

" bring

" bring it about, that at laſt the writers who " labour in the cauſe of ſuperſtition and reſtraint, " will have neither a publiſher nor readers. 5. " When, laſtly, by the ſpreading of our Fra- " ternity, all good hearts and ſenſible men will " adhere to us, and by our means will be put in " a condition that enables them to work in ſilence " upon all courts, families, and individuals in " every quarter, and acquire an influence in the " appointment of court-officers, ſtewards, ſecre- " taries, pariſh-prieſts, public teachers, and pri- " vate tutors.

" Remark, That we ſhall ſpeedily get the trade " into our hands, (which was formerly the aim " of the Aſſociation called the *Gelehrtenbuchhand-* " *lung*,) is conceivable by this, that every writer " who unites with us immediately acquires a triple " number of readers, and finds friends in every " place who promote the ſale of his performance; " ſo that his gain is increaſed manifold, and con- " ſequently all will quit the bookſellers, and ac- " cede to us by degrees. Had the above-named " Aſſociation been conſtructed in this manner, it " would, long ere now, have been the only " ſhop in Germany."

The book called *Fuller Information*, &c. gives a more particular account of the advantages held forth to the literary manufacturers of Germany by this Union *for God's work*. The claſs of lite-

tary

rary Brothers, or writers by trade, was divided into *Meſopolites*, *Aldermen*, *Men*, and *Cadets*.

The MESOPOLITES, or Metropolitans, are to be attached to the archive-office, and to be taken care of in the Union-houſe, when in ſtraits through age or misfortune. They will be occupied in the department of the ſciences or arts, which this Aſſociation profeſſes principally to cheriſh. They are alſo Brethren of the third degree of Scotch Free Maſonry, a qualification to be explained afterwards. The Union-houſe is a building which the oſtenſible Founder of the Union profeſſed to have acquired, or ſpeedily to acquire at ———, through the favour and protection of a German Prince, who is not named.

ALDERMEN are perſons who hold public offices, and are engaged to exerciſe their genius and talents in the ſciences. Theſe alſo are Brothers of the third rank of Scotch Free Maſonry, and out of their number are the Dioceſans and the Directors of the Reading Societies ſelected.

The members who are deſigned ſimply MEN, are Brothers of the ſecond rank of Maſonry, and have alſo a definite ſcientific occupation aſſigned them.

The CADETS are writers who have not yet merited any particular honours, but have exhibited ſufficient diſpoſitions and talents for different kinds of literary manufacture.

Every

Every member is bound to bring the productions of his genius to market through the Union. An Alderman receives for an original work 80 per cent. of the returns, and 70 for a tranſlation. The member of the next claſs receives 60, and the Cadet 50. As to the expence of printing, the Alderman pays nothing, even though the work ſhould lie on hand unſold; but the *Man* and the *Cadet* muſt pay one half. Three months after publication at the fairs an account is brought in, and after this, yearly, when and in what manner the author ſhall deſire.

In every dioceſe will be eſtabliſhed at leaſt one Reading Society, of which near 800 are propoſed. To each of theſe will a copy of an *Alderman*'s work be ſent. The ſame favour will be ſhown to a diſſertation by a *Man*, or by a *Cadet*, provided that the manuſcript is documented by an Alderman, or formally approved by him upon ſerious peruſal. This *imprimatur*, which muſt be conſidered as a powerful recommendation of the work, is to be publiſhed in the *General Review* or *Gazette*. This is to be a vehicle of political as well as of literary news; and it is hoped that, by its intrinſic worth, and the recommendation of the members, it will ſoon ſupplant all others. (With reſpect to affairs of the Union, a ſort of cypher was to be employed in it. Each Dioceſan was there deſigned by a letter, of a ſize that marked

marked his rank, and each member by a number. It was to appear weekly, at the very ſmall price of five-and-twenty ſhillings.)—But let us return to the plan.

When every thing has been eſtabliſhed in the manner ſet forth above, the Union will aſſume the following republican form (the reader always recollecting that this is not to appear to the world, and to be known only to the *managing* Brethren).

Here, however, there is a great blank. The above-named ſketch of this Conſtitution did not come to the hands of the perſon who furniſhed the bookſeller with the reſt of the information. But we have other documents which give ſufficient information for our purpoſe. In the mean time, let us juſt take the papers as they ſtand.

N° IV. Contains a liſt of the German Union, which the ſender received in manuſcript. Here we find many names which we ſhould not have expected, and miſs many that were much more likely to have been partners in this patriotic ſcheme. There are ſeveral hundred names, but very few deſignations; ſo that it is difficult to point out the individuals to the public. Some however are deſigned, and the writer obſerves that names are found, which, when applied to ſome individuals whom he knows, accord ſurpriſingly with the anecdotes that are to be ſeen in

the private correſpondence of the Illuminati, and in the romance called Materials for the Hiſtory of Socratiſm (Illuminatiſm) *. It is but a diſagreeable remark, that the liſt of the Union contains the names of many public teachers, both from the pulpit, and from the academic chair in all its degrees; and among theſe are ſeveral whoſe cyphers ſhow that they have been active hands. Some of theſe have in their writings given evident proofs of their miſconception of the ſimple truths, whether dogmatical or hiſtorical, of revealed religion, or of their inclination to twiſt and manufacture them ſo as to chime in with the religion and morality of the Sages of France. But it is more diſtreſſing to meet with unequivocal names of ſome who profeſs in their writings to conſider theſe ſubjects as an honeſt man

* This, by the by, is a very curious and entertaining work, and, had the whole affair been better known in this country, would have been a much better antidote againſt the baneful effects of that Aſſociation than any thing that I can give to the public, being written with much acuteneſs and knowledge of the human mind, and agreeably diverſified with anecdote and ironical exhibition of the affected wiſdom and philanthropy of the knaviſh Founder and his coadjutors. If the preſent imperfect and deſultory account ſhall be found to intereſt the public, I doubt not but that a tranſlation of this novel, and ſome other fanciful performances on the ſubject, will be read with entertainment and profit.

ſhould

ſhould conſider them, that is, according to the plain and common ſenſe of the words; whereas we have demonſtrative proofs that the German Union had the diametrically oppoſite purpoſe in view. The only female in the liſt is the *Grafin von der Recke*, the Lady who gave Dr. Stark of Darmſtadt ſo much trouble about his *Tonſure*. This Lady, as we have already ſeen, could not occupy herſelf with the frivolities of dreſs, flirtation, or domeſtic cares. "*Femina fronte patet*, "*vir pectore.*" She was not pleaſed however at finding her name in ſuch a Plebeian liſt, and gave oath, along with Bieſter at the centre, that ſhe was not of the Aſſociation. I ſee that the public was not ſatisfied with this denial. The Lady has publiſhed ſome more ſcandal againſt Stark ſince that time, and takes no notice of it; and there have appeared many accounts of very ſerious literary connections between theſe two perſons and the man who was afterwards diſcovered to be the chief agent of the Union.

N° V. is an important document. It is a letter addreſſed to the ſworn members of the Union, reminding the beloved fellow-workers that "the "bygone management of the buſineſs has been "expenſive, and that the XXII. do not mean "to make any particular charge for their own "compenſation. But that it was neceſſary that "all and each of the members ſhould know pre-

"ciſely

" cisely the object of the Association, and the " way which mature consideration had pointed " out as the most effectual method of attaining " this object. Then, and not till then, could " the worthy members act by one plan, and " consequently with united force. To accom- " plish this purpose, one of their number had " composed a Treatise *on Instruction, and the* " *means of promoting it* *." This work has been revised by the whole number, and may be considered as the result of their deepest reflection. They say, that it would be a signal misfortune should this Association, this undertaking, so important for the happiness of mankind, be cramped in the very beginning of its brilliant progress. They therefore propose to print this work, this Holy Scripture of their faith and practice, by subscription. (They here give a short account of the work.) And they request the members to encourage the work by subscribing, and by exerting more than their usual activity in procuring subscriptions, and in recommending the performance in the

* *Ueber* AUFKLARUNG *und deren Beförderungs-Mittel.* The only proper translation of this word would be, *clearing up*, or *enlightening*. *Instruction* seems the single word that comes nearest to the precise meaning of *Aufklarung*, but is not synonymous.

newspapers.

newſpapers. Four perſons are named as Dioceſans, who are to receive the money, which they beg may be ſpeedily advanced in order to purchaſe paper, that the work may be ready for the firſt fair (Eaſter 1788).

N° VI. is a printed paper (as is N° V.) without date, farther recommending the Eſſay on Inſtruction. N° VII. is in manuſcript, without date. It is addreſſed to "a worthy man," intimating that the like are ſent to others, to whom will alſo ſpeedily be forwarded an improved plan, with a requeſt to cancel or deſtroy the former contained in N° III. It is added, that the Union now contains, among many others, more than two hundred of the moſt reſpectable perſons in Germany, of every rank and condition, and that in the courſe of the year, (1788,) a general liſt will be ſent, with a requeſt that the receiver will point out ſuch as he does not think worthy of perfect confidence. It concludes with another recommendation of the book *on Inſtruction*, on the returns from which firſt work of the German Union the ſupport of the ſecretary's office is to depend.

Accordingly N° VIII. contains this plan, but it is not intitled *The Improved Plan.* Such a denomination would have called in doubt the infallibility of the XXII. It is therefore called The *Progreſſive* (Vorlaufig) plan, a title which leaves room for every ſubſequent change. It differs from

from the former only in ſome unimportant circumſtances. Some expreſſions, which had given offence or raiſed ſuſpicions, are ſoftened or cancelled. Two copies of this, which we may call A and B, are given, differing alſo in ſome circumſtances.

" The great aim of the German Union is the " good of mankind, which is to be attained only " by means of mental Illumination (*Auffklarung*) " and the dethroning of fanaticiſm and moral " deſpotiſm." Neither paper has the expreſſion which immediately followed in the former plan, " that this had been the aim of the exalted Founder " of Chriſtianity." The paper A refers, on the preſent ſubject, to a diſſertation printed in 1787 without a name, *On the Freedom of the Preſs, and its Limitation.* This is one of the moſt licentious pieces that has been publiſhed on the ſubject, not only enforcing the moſt unqualified liberty of publiſhing every thing a man pleaſes, but exemplifying it in the moſt ſcandalous manner; libelling characters of every ſort, and perſons of every condition, and this frequently in the moſt abuſive language, and expreſſions ſo coarſe, as ſhewed the author to be either habituated to the coarſeſt company, or determined to try boldly once for all, what the public eye can bear. The piece goes on: " The Union conſiders it as a " chief part of its ſecret plan of operation, to in-

" clude the trade of bookſelling in their circle. " By getting hold of this, they have it in their " power to increaſe the number of writings which " promote inſtruction, and to leſſen that of thoſe " which mar it, ſince the authors of the latter " will by degrees loſe both their publiſhers and " their readers. That the preſent bookſellers " may do them no harm, they will by degrees " draw in the greater part of them to unite " with them."—The literary newſpaper is here ſtrongly inſiſted on, and, in addition to what was ſaid in the former plan, it is ſaid, " that " they will include political news, as of mighty " influence on the public mind, and as a ſubject " that merits the cloſeſt attention of the moral " inſtructor. For what illumination is that " mind ſuſceptible of, that is ſo blinded by the " prejudice created and nurſed by the habits of " civil ſubordination, that it worſhips ſtupidity " or wickedneſs under a coronet, and neglects " talents and virtue under the bearſkin cap of " the boor? We muſt therefore repreſent poli- " tical tranſactions, and public occurrences, not " as they affect that artificial and fantaſtical " creature of imagination that we ſee every " where around us, wheeled about in a chariot, " but as it affects a MAN, rational, active, free- " born man. By thus ſtripping the tranſaction " of all foreign circumſtances, we ſee it as it af-

" fects,

" fects, or ought to affect, ourſelves. Be aſſured " that this new form of political intelligence will " be highly intereſting, and that the Gazette of " the Union will ſoon ſuperſede all others, " and, of itſelf, will defray all our neceſſary ex- " pences."

This is followed by ſome alluſions to a ſecret correſpondence that is quick, unſuſceptible of all diſcovery or treachery, and attended with no expence, by which the buſineſs of the ſecret plan (*different from either of thoſe communicated to the ſworn Brethren at large*) is carried on, and which puts the members in a condition to learn every thing that goes on in the world, for or againſt their cauſe, and alſo teaches them to know mankind, to gain an influence over all, and enables them effectually to promote their beſt ſubjects into all offices, &c. and finally, from which every member, whether ſtateſman, merchant, or writer, can draw his own advantages. Some paſſages here and in another place make me imagine that the Union hoped to get the command of the poſt-offices, by having their Brethren in the direction.

It is then ſaid, that " it is ſuppoſed that the " levy will be ſufficiently numerous in the ſpring " of the enſuing year. When this takes place, a " general ſynod will be held, in which the *plan* " *of ſecret operations* will be finally adjuſted, and " accommodated to local circumſtances, ſo as to

" be digeſted into a law that will need no far-
" ther alteration. A proper perſon will ſet off
" from this ſynod, with full powers, to viſit
" every quarter where there are ſworn Brethren,
" and he will there eſtabliſh a Lodge after the
" ancient ſimple ritual, and will communicate
" verbally the *plan of ſecret operation*, and certain
" inſtructions. Theſe Lodges will then eſtabliſh
" a managing fund or box. Each Lodge will
" alſo eſtabliſh a Reading Society, under the
" management of a bookſeller reſiding in the
" place, or of ſome perſon acquainted with the
" mechanical conduct of things of this nature.
" There muſt alſo be a collector and agent, (*Ex-
" pediteur*,) ſo that in a moment the Union will
" have its offices or *comptoirs* in every quarter,
" through which it carries on the trade of book-
" ſelling, and guides the ebb and flow of its cor-
" reſpondence. And thus the whole machine
" will be ſet in motion, and its activity is all di-
" rected from the centre."

I remark, that here we have not that excluſion of Princes and miniſters that was in the former plan; they are not even mentioned. The excluſion in expreſs terms could not but ſurpriſe people, and appear ſomewhat ſuſpicious.

N° IX. is a printed circular letter to the ſworn Brethren, and is ſubſcribed " by their truly " aſſociated Brother Barthels, *Oberamtſman* (firſt " bailiff)

" bailiff) for the King of Pruſſia, at Halle on the " Saal."

In this letter the Brethren are informed that " the XXII. were wont to meet ſometimes at " Halle, and ſometimes at Berlin. But una- " voidable circumſtances oblige them not only " to remain concealed for ſome time, but even " to give up their relation to the Union, and " withdraw themſelves from any ſhare in its pro- " ceedings. Theſe circumſtances are but tem- " porary, and will be completely explained in " due time. They truſt, however, that this ne- " ceſſary ſtep on their part will not abate the zeal " and activity of men of noble minds, engaged " in the cauſe by the conviction of their own " hearts. They have therefore communicated " to their worthy Brother BARTHELS all ne- " ceſſary informations, and have unanimouſly " conferred on him the direction of the ſecre- " tary's office, and have provided him with every " document and mean of carrying on the cor- " reſpondence. He has devoted himſelf to the " honourable office, giving up all other employ- " ments. They obſerve that by this change in " the manner of proceeding, the Aſſociation is " freed from an objection made with juſtice to all " other ſecret ſocieties, namely, that the mem- " bers ſubject themſelves to blind and unquali- " fied ſubmiſſion to unknown ſuperiors."—" The

" Society is now in the hands of its own avowed " members. Every thing will ſoon be arranged " according to a conſtitution purely republican; " a Dioceſan will be choſen, and will direct in " every province, and report to the centre every " ſecond month, and inſtructions and other in- " formations will iſſue in like manner from the " centre.

" If this plan ſhall be approved of by the Aſſo- " ciated, H. Barthels will tranſmit to all the Dio- " ceſes general liſts of the Union, and the PLAN " OF SECRET OPERATION, the reſult of deep " meditation of the XXII. and admirably calcu- " lated for carrying on with irreſiſtible effect " their noble and patriotic plan. To ſtop all " cabal, and put an end to all ſlander and ſuſ- " picion, H. Barthels thinks it proper that the " Union ſhall ſtep forward, and declare itſelf to " the world, and openly name ſome of its moſt " reſpectable members. The public muſt how- " ever be informed only with reſpect to the *ex-* " *terior* of the Society, for which purpoſe he had " written a ſheet to be annexed as an appendix " to the work, ON INSTRUCTION, declaring " that to be the work of the Society, and a ſuf- " ficient indication of its moſt honourable aim. " He deſires ſuch members as chooſe to ſhare " the honour with him, to ſend him their names " and proper deſignations, that they may appear

" in

" in that Appendix. And, laſtly, he requeſts " them to inſtruct him, and co-operate with him, " according to the concerted rules of the Union, " in promoting the cauſe of God and the happi- " neſs of mankind."

The Appendix now alluded to makes N° X. of the packet ſent to the Bookſeller Goſchen of Leipzig, and is dated December 1788. It is alſo found in the book *On Inſtruction*, &c. printed at Leipzig in 1789, by Walther. Here, however, the Appendix is dated January 1789. This edition agrees in the main with that in the book from which I have made ſuch copious extracts, but differs in ſome particulars that are not unworthy of remark.

In the packet it is written, " *The Underſigned*, " *as Member and Agent of the German Union*, " in order to rectify ſeveral miſtakes and injurious ſlanders and accuſations, thinks it neceſſary that the public itſelf ſhould judge of " their object and conduct."—Towards the end it is ſaid, " and all who have any doubts may " apply to thoſe named below, and are invited " to write to them." No names however are ſubjoined.—In the Appendix to the book it is only ſaid, " the agent of the German Union," &c. and " perſons who wiſh to be better informed " may write to the agent, under the addreſs,

" *To the German Union*—under cover to the ſhop " of Walther, bookſeller in Leipzig."—Here too there are no names, and it does not appear that any perſon has choſen to come from behind the curtain *.

There has already been ſo much ſaid about *Enlightening*, that the reader muſt be almoſt tired of it. He is aſſured in this performance that the Illumination propoſed by the Union is not that of the *Wolfenbuttle Fragments*, nor that of HORUS, nor that of *Bahrdt*. The *Fragments* and *Horus* are books which aim directly, and without any concealment, to deſtroy the authority of our Scriptures, either as hiſtorical narrations or as revelations of the intentions of providence and of the future proſpects of man. The Theological writings of *Bahrdt* are groſs perverſions, both of the ſenſe of the text, and of the moral inſtructions contained in it, and are perhaps the moſt exceptionable performances on the ſubject. They are ſtigmatiſed as abſurd, and coarſe, and indecent,

* Walther is an eminent bookſeller, and carries on the buſineſs of publiſhing to a great extent, both at Leipzig and other places. He was the publiſher of the moſt virulent attacks on the King of Pruſſia's Edict on Religion, and was brought into much trouble about the Commentary by Pott which is mentioned above. He alſo publiſhes many of the ſceptical and licentious writings which have ſo much diſturbed the peace of Germany.

even

even by the writers on the ſame ſide; yet the work recommended ſo often, as containing the elements of that Illumination which the world has to expect from the Union, not only coincides in its general principles with theſe performances, but is almoſt an abſtract of ſome them, particularly of his *Popular Religion*, his *Paraphraſe on the Sermon on the Mount*, and his MORALITY OF RELIGION. We have alſo ſeen that the book on the Liberty of the Preſs is quoted and recommended as an elementary book. Nay both the work on Inſtruction and that on the Liberty of the Preſs are now known to be Bahrdt's.

But theſe principles, exceptionable as they may be, are probably not the worſt of the inſtitution. We ſee that the *outſide* alone of the Union is to be ſhewn to the public. Barthels felicitates the public that there is no ſubordination and blind obedience to unknown Superiors; yet, in the ſame paragraph, he tells us that there is a ſecret plan of operations, that is known only to the Centre and the Confidential Brethren. The author of *Fuller Information* ſays that he has this plan, and would print it, were he not reſtrained by a promiſe *. He gives us enough however to ſhow us that the higher myſteries of the Union are preciſely the ſame with thoſe of the Illuminati. Chriſti-

* This I find to be falſe, and the book a common job.

anity is expreſsly ſaid to have been a Myſtical Aſſociation, and its founder the Grand Maſter of a Lodge. The Apoſtles, Peter, James, John, and Andrew, were the ELECT, and Brethren of the Third Degree, and initiated into all the myſteries. The remaining Apoſtles were only of the Second Degree; and the Seventy-two were of the Firſt Degree. Into this degree ordinary Chriſtians may be admitted, and prepared for further advancement. The great myſtery is, that J—— C—— was a NATURALIST, and taught the doctrine of a Supreme Mind, the Spectator, but not the Governor of the World, pretty nearly in the ſenſe of the Stoics. The Initiated Brethren were to be inſtructed by reading proper books. Thoſe particularly recommended are *Baſedow's Practical Knowledge*, *Eberhard's Apology for Socrates*, *Bahrdt's Apology for Reaſon*, *Steinbardt's Syſtem of Moral Education*, *Meiner's Ancient Myſteries*, *Bahrdt's Letters on the Bible*, and *Bahrdt's Completion of the Plan and Aim of J—— C——*. Theſe books are of the moſt Antichriſtian character, and ſome of them aim at ſhaking off all moral obligation whatever.

Along with theſe religious doctrines, are inculcated the moſt dangerous maxims of civil conduct. The deſpotiſm that is aimed at over the minds of men, and the machinations and intrigues for obtaining poſſeſſion of places of truſt and influence,

fluence, are equally alarming; but being perfectly similar to those of the Illuminati, it is needless to mention them.

The chief intelligence that we get from this author is that the CENTRE of the Union is at a house in the neighbourhood of Halle. It is a sort of tavern, in a vineyard immediately without the city. This was bought by DOCTOR KARL FRIEDERICH BAHRDT, and fitted up for the amusement of the University Students. He calls it BAHRDT'S RUHE (Bahrdt's Repose). The author thinks that this must have been the work of the Association, because Bahrdt had not a farthing, and was totally unable for such an undertaking. He may however have been the contriver of the institution. He has never affirmed or denied this in explicit terms; nor has he ever said who are the XXII. coadjutors. Wucherer, an eminent bookseller at Vienna, seems to have been one of the most active hands, and in one year admitted near 200 members, among whom is his own shoemaker. He has published some of the most profligate pamphlets which have yet appeared in Germany.

The publication of the list of members alarmed the nation; persons were astonished to find themselves in every quarter in the midst of villains who were plotting against the peace and happiness of the country, and destroying every sentiment of religion,

religion, morality, or loyalty. Many perſons publiſhed in the newſpapers and literary journals affirmations and proofs of the falſe inſertion of their names. Some acknowledged that curioſity had made them enter the Aſſociation, and even continue their correſpondence with the Centre, in order to learn ſomething of what the Fraternity had in view, but declared that they had never taken any part in its proceedings. But, at the ſame time, it is certain that many Reading Societies had been ſet up, during theſe tranſactions, in every quarter of Germany, and that the oſtenſible managers were in general of very ſuſpicious characters, both as to morals and loyalty. The Union had actually ſet up a preſs of their own at Calbe, in the neighbourhood of Halberſtadt. Every day there appeared ſtronger proofs of a combination of the Journaliſts, Reviewers, and even of the publiſhers and bookſellers, to ſuppreſs the writings which appeared in defence of the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions of the States of Germany. The extenſive literary manufacture of Germany is carried on in ſuch a manner that it is impoſſible for any thing leſs than the joint operation of the whole federated powers to prevent this. The ſpirit of freethinking and innovating in religious matters had been remarkably prevalent in the dominions of the King of Pruſſia, having been much encouraged by the indifference

indifference of the late King. One of the vileſt things publiſhed on this occaſion was an abominable farce, called the *Religion Edict*. This was traced to Bahrdt's Ruhe, and the Doctor was arreſted, and all his papers ſeized and ranſacked. The civil Magiſtrate was glad of an opportunity of expiſcating the German Union, which common fame had alſo traced hither. The correſpondence was accordingly examined, and many diſcoveries were made, which there was no occaſion to communicate to the public, and the proſecution of the buſineſs of the Union was by this means ſtopped. But the perſons in high office at Berlin agree in ſaying that the Aſſociation of writers and other turbulent perſons in Germany has been but very faintly hit by this blow, and is almoſt as active as ever.

THE German Union appears a mean and precipitate Aſſociation. The Centre, the Archives, and the Secretary are contemptible. All the Archives that were found were the plans and liſts of the members and a parcel of letters of correſpondence. The correſpondence and other buſineſs was managed by an old man in ſome very inferior office or judicatory, who lived at bed and board in Bahrdt's houſe for about ſix ſhillings a-week, having a cheſt of papers and a writing-deſk in the corner of the common room of the houſe.

Bahrdt

Bahrdt gives a long narration of his concern in the affair, but we can put little confidence in what he ſays; yet as we have no better authority, I ſhall give a very ſhort abſtract of it as follows:

He ſaid, that he learned Coſmo-political Free Maſonry in England, when he was there getting pupils for his academy—but neglected it on his return to Germany. Some time after his ſettlement he was rouſed by a viſit from a ſtranger who paſſed for an Engliſhman; but whom he afterwards found to be a Dutch officer—(he gives a deſcription which bears conſiderable reſemblance to the Prince or General Salms who gave ſo much diſturbance to the States-General)—He was ſtill more excited by an anonymous letter giving him an account of a Society which was employed in the inſtruction of mankind, and a plan of their mode of operations, nearly the ſame with that of N° III.—He then ſet up a Lodge of Free Maſonry on Coſmo-political principles, as a preparation for engaging in this great plan—he was ſtopped by the National Lodge, becauſe he had no patent from it.—This obliged him to work in ſecret.—He met with a gentleman in a coffeehouſe, who entreated him to go on, and promiſed him great aſſiſtance—this he got from time to time, as he ſtood moſt in need of it, and he now found that he was working in concert with many powerful though unknown friends, each in his own circle.

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The plan of operation of the XXII. was gradually unfolded to him, and he got ſolemn promiſes of being made acquainted with his colleagues —But he now found, that after he had ſo eſſentially ſerved their noble cauſe, he was dropped by them in the hour of danger, and thus was made the ſacrifice for the public good. The laſt packet which he received was a requeſt from a *Friend to the Union* to print two performances ſent him, with a promiſe of 100 dahlers for his trouble. —Theſe were the abominable farce called the *Religion Edict*, and ſome Diſſertations on that Royal Proclamation.

He then gives an account of his ſyſtem of Free Maſonry, not very different from Weiſhaupt's Maſonic Chriſtianity—and concludes with the following abſtract of the advantages of the Union—Advancement of Science—A general intereſt and concern for Arts and Learning—Excitement of Talents—Check of Scribbling—Good Education —Liberty—Equality—Hoſpitality—Delivery of many from Misfortunes—Union of the Learned —and at laſt—perhaps—Amen.

What the meaning of this enigmatical concluſion is we can only gueſs—and our conjectures cannot be very favourable.

The narration, of which this is a very ſhort index, is abundantly entertaining; but the opinion of the moſt intelligent is, that it is in a great meaſure fictitious,

fictitious, and that the contrivance of the Union is moſtly his own. Although it could not be legally proved that he was the author of the farce, every perſon in court was convinced that he was, and indeed it is perfectly in Bahrdt's very ſingular manner.—This invalidates the whole of his ſtory —and he afterwards acknowledges the farce (at leaſt by implication) in ſeveral writings, and boaſts of it.

For theſe reaſons I have omitted the narration in detail. Some information, however, which I have received ſince, ſeems to confirm his account, while it diminiſhes its importance. I now find that the book called *Fuller Information* is the performance of a clergyman called *Schütz*, of the loweſt claſs, and by no means of an eminent character.—Another performance in the form of a dialogue between X, Y, and Z, giving nearly the ſame account, is by Pott, the dear friend of Bahrdt and of his Union, and author of the Commentary on the Edict. Schutz got his materials from one Roper, an expelled ſtudent of debauched morals, who ſubſiſted by copying and vending filthy manuſcripts. Bahrdt ſays, that he found him naked and ſtarving, and, out of pity, took him into his houſe, and employed him as an amanuenſis. Roper ſtole the papers at various times, taking them with him to Leipzig, whither he went on pretence of ſickneſs. At laſt Schutz and he went

to

to Berlin together, and gave the information on which Bahrdt was put in prison. In short they all appear to have been equally profligates and traitors to each other, and exhibit a dreadful, but I hope a useful picture of the influence of this Illumination which so wonderfully fascinates Germany.

This is all the direct information that I can pick up of the founder and the proceedings of the German Union. The project is coarse, and palpably mean, aiming at the dahlers of entry-money and of annual contribution, and at the publication and profitable sale of Dr. Bahrdt's books. This circumstance gives it strong features of its parentage.—Philo speaks of Bahrdt in his *Final Declaration* in terms of contempt and abhorrence. There is nothing ingenious, nothing new, nothing enticing, in the plans; and the immediate purpose of indulging the licentious taste of the public comes so frequently before the eye, that it bears all the marks of that grossness of mind, precipitancy, and impatient oversight that are to be found in all the voluminous writings of Dr. Bahrdt.—Many in Germany, however, ascribe the Union to Weishaupt, and say that it is the Illuminati working in another form. There is no denying that the principles, and even the manner of proceeding, are the same in every essential circumstance. Many paragraphs of the declama-

tions circulated through Germany with the plans, are tranſcribed verbatim from Weiſhaupt's *Corrected Syſtem of Illuminatiſm.* Much of the work *On Inſtruction, and the Means for promoting it*, is very nearly a copy of the ſame work, blended with ſlovenly extracts from ſome of his own writings—There is the ſame ſeries of deluſions from the beginning, as in Illuminatiſm—Free Maſonry and Chriſtianity are compounded—firſt with marks of reſpect—then Chriſtianity is twiſted to a purpoſe foreign from it, but the ſame with that aimed at by Weiſhaupt—then it is thrown away altogether, and Natural Religion and Atheiſm ſubſtituted for it—For no perſon will have a moment's heſitation in ſaying, that this is the creed of the author of the books *On Inſtruction* and *On the Liberty of the Preſs.* Nor can he doubt that the political principles are equally anarchical with thoſe of the Illuminati.—The endeavours alſo to get poſſeſſion of public offices, of places of education—of the public mind, by the Reading Societies, and by publications—are ſo many tranſcripts from the Illuminati.—Add to this, that Dr. Bahrdt was an *Illuminatus*—and wrote the *Better than Horus*, at the command of Weiſhaupt.—Nay, it is well known that Weiſhaupt was twice or thrice at Bahrdt's Ruhe during thoſe tranſactions, and that he zealouſly promoted the formation of Reading Societies in ſeveral places.—But I am rather

rather of the opinion that Weiſhaupt made thoſe viſits in order to keep Dr. Bahrdt within ſome bounds of decency, and to hinder him from hurting the cauſe by his precipitancy, when ſpurred on by the want of money. Weiſhaupt could not work in ſuch an unſkilful manner. But he would be very glad of ſuch help as this coarſe tool could give him—and Bahrdt gave great help; for, when he was impriſoned and his papers ſeized, his Archives, as he called them, ſhewed that there were many Reading Societies which his project had drawn together. The Pruſſian States had above thirty, and the number of Readers was aſtoniſhingly great—and it was found, that the pernicious books had really found their way into every hut. —Bahrdt, by deſcending a ſtory lower than Weiſhaupt, has greatly increaſed the number of his pupils.

But, although I cannot conſider the German Union as a formal revival of the Order under another name, I muſt hold thoſe *United*, and the members of thoſe Reading Societies, as *Illuminati* and *Minervals*. I muſt even conſider the Union as a part of Spartacus's work. The plans of Weiſhaupt were partly carried into effect in their different branches—they were pointed out, and the way to carry them on are diſtinctly deſcribed in the private correſpondence of the Order—It required little genius to attempt them in imitation.

Bahrdt made the attempt, and in part ſucceeded. Weiſhaupt's hopes were well founded—The leaven was not only diſtributed, but the management of the fermentation was now underſtood, and it went on apace.

It is to be remarked, that nothing was found among Bahrdt's papers to ſupport the ſtory he writes in his diary—no ſuch correſpondences—but enough for detecting many of theſe ſocieties. Many others however were found unconnected with Bahrdt's Ruhe, not of better character, either as to Morality or Loyalty, and ſome of them conſiderable and expenſive; and many proofs were found of a combination to force the public to a certain way of thinking, by the management of the Reviews and Journals. The extenſive dealings of Nicholai of Berlin gave him great weight in the book-making trade, which in Germany ſurpaſſes all our conceptions. The catalogues of *new* writings in ſheets, which are printed twice a-year for each of the fairs of Leipzig and Frankfort, would aſtoniſh a Britiſh reader by the number. The bookſellers meet there, and at one glance ſee the whole republic of literature, and, like Roman ſenators, decide the ſentiments of diſtant provinces. By thus ſeeing the whole together, their ſpeculations are national, and they really have it in their power to give what turn they pleaſe to the literature and to the ſentiments of

of Germany. Still however they must be induced by motives. The motive of a merchant is gain, and every object appears in his eye something by which money may be made. Therefore in a luxurious and voluptuous nation, licentious and free-thinking books will abound. The writers suggest, and the booksellers think how the thing will tickle. Yet it must not be inferred from the prevalence of such books, that such is the common sense of mankind, and that the writings are not the corrupters, but the corrupted, or that they are what they ought to be, because they please the public. We need only push the matter to an extremity, and its cause appears plain. Filthy prints will always create a greater crowd before the shop-window than the finest performances of Woollett. Licentious books will be read with a fluttering eagerness, as long as they are not universally permitted; and pitiable will be the state of the nation when their number makes them familiar and no longer captivating.

But although it must be confessed that great encouragement was given to the sceptical, infidel, and licentious writings in Germany, we see that it was still necessary to practise seduction. The *Religionist* was made to expect some engaging exhibition of his faith. The *Citizen* must be told that his civil connections are respected, and will be improved; and *all* are told that good manners

or virtue is to be ſupported. Man is ſuppoſed to be, in very eſſential circumſtances, what he wiſhes to be, and feels he ought to be: and he is corrupted by means of falſehood and trick. The principles by which he is wheedled into wickedneſs in the firſt inſtance, are therefore ſuch as are really addreſſed to the general ſentiments of mankind: theſe therefore ſhould be conſidered as more expreſſive of the public mind than thoſe which he afterwards adopts, after this artificial education. Therefore Virtue, Patriotiſm, Loyalty, Veneration for true and undefiled Religion, are really acknowledged by thoſe corrupters to be the *prevailing* ſentiments; and they are good if this prevalence is to be the teſt of worth. The mind that is otherwiſe affected by them, and hypocritically uſes them in order to get hold of the uninitiated, that he may in time be made to cheriſh the contrary ſentiments, cannot be a good mind, notwithſtanding any pretenſions it may make to the love of mankind.

No man, not Weiſhaupt himſelf, has made ſtronger profeſſions of benevolence, of regard for the happineſs of mankind, and of every thing that is amiable, than Dr. Bahrdt. It may not be uſeleſs to enquire what effect ſuch principles have had on his own mind, and thoſe of his chief coadjutors. Deceit of every kind is diſhonourable; and the deceit that is profeſſedly employed in the proceedings

proceedings of the Union is no exception. No pious fraud *whatever* muſt be uſed, and pure religion muſt be preſented to the view without all diſguiſe.

" The more fair Virtue's ſeen, the more ſhe
" charms.
" Safe, plain, and eaſy, are her artleſs ways.
" With face erect, her eyes look ſtrait before;
" For dauntleſs is her march, her ſtep ſecure.

" Not ſo pale Fraud—now here ſhe turns, now
" there,
" Still ſeeking darker ſhades, ſecure in none,
" Looks often back, and wheeling round and
" round,
" Sinks headlong in the danger ſhe would ſhun."

The mean motive of the Proteſtant Sceptic is as inconſiſtent with our notions of honeſty as with our notions of honour; and our ſuſpicions are juſtly raiſed of the character of Dr. Bahrdt and his aſſociates, even although we do not ſuppoſe that their aim is the total aboliſhing of religion. With propriety therefore may we make ſome enquiry about their lives and conduct. Fortunately this is eaſy in the preſent inſtance. A man that has turned every eye upon himſelf can hardly eſcape obſervation. But it is not ſo eaſy to get fair information. The peculiar ſituation of Dr. Bahrdt, and the cauſe between him

and the public, are of all others the moſt productive of miſtake, miſrepreſentation, obloquy, and injuſtice. But even here we are fortunate. Many remarkable parts of his life are eſtabliſhed by the moſt reſpectable teſtimony, or by judicial evidences; and, to take all ſure, he has written his own life. I ſhall inſert nothing here that is not made out by the two laſt modes of proof, reſting nothing on the firſt, however reſpectable the evidence may be. But I muſt obſerve, that his life was alſo written by his dear friend Pott, the partner of Walther the bookſeller. The ſtory of this publication is curious, and it is inſtructive.

Bahrdt was in priſon, and in great poverty. He intended to write his own life, to be printed by Walther, under a fictitious name, and in this work he intended to indulge his ſpleen and his diſlike of all thoſe who had offended him, and in particular all prieſts, and rulers, and judges, who had given him ſo much trouble. He knew that the ſtrange, and many of them ſcandalous anecdotes, with which he had ſo liberally interlarded many of his former publications, would ſet curioſity on tiptoe, and would procure a rapid ſale as ſoon as the public ſhould gueſs that it was his own performance, by the ſingular but ſignificant name which the pretended author would aſſume. He had almoſt agreed with Walther for a thouſand dahlers, (about L. 200), when he

he was impriſoned for being the author of the farce ſo often named, and of the commentary on the *Religion Edict*, written by Pott, and for the proceedings of the German Union. He was refuſed the uſe of pen and ink. He then applied to Pott, and found means to correſpond with him, and to give him part of his life already written, and materials for the reſt, conſiſting of ſtories, and anecdotes, and correſpondence. Pott ſent him ſeveral ſheets, with which he was ſo pleaſed, that they concluded a bargain. Bahrdt ſays, that Pott was to have 400 copies, and that the reſt was to go to the maintenance of Bahrdt and his family, conſiſting of his wife, daughter, a Chriſtina and her children who lived with them, &c. Pott gives a different account, and the truth was different from both, but of little conſequence to us. Bahrdt's papers had been ſeized, and ſearched for evidence of his tranſactions, but the ſtricteſt attention was paid to the preciſe points of the charge, and no paper was abſtracted which did not relate to theſe. All others were kept in a ſealed room. Pott procured the removal of the ſeals, and got poſſeſſion of them. Bahrdt ſays, that his wife and daughter came to him in priſon, almoſt ſtarving, and told him that now that the room was opened, Pott had made an offer to write for their ſupport, if he had the uſe of theſe papers—that this was the

concluſion

concluſion of the bargain, and that Pott took away all the papers. N. B. Pott was the aſſociate of Walther, who had great confidence in him (*Anecdotenbuch für meinen lieben Amtſbrüder, p.* 400.) and had conducted the buſineſs of Stark's book, as has been already mentioned. No man was better known to Bahrdt, for they had long acted together as chief hands in the Union. He would therefore write the life of its founder *con amore*, and it might be expected to be a rare and tickling performance. And indeed it was. The firſt part of it only was publiſhed at this time; and the narration reaches from the birth of the hero till his leaving Leipzig in 1768. The attention is kept fully awake, but the emotions which ſucceſſively occupy the mind of the reader, are nothing but ſtrong degrees of averſion, diſguſt, and horror. The figure ſet up to view is a monſter, a man of talents indeed, and capable of great things; but loſt to truth, to virtue, and even to the affectation of common decency—In ſhort, a ſhameleſs profligate. ——Poor Bahrdt was aſtoniſhed,—ſtared—but, having his wits about him, ſaw that this life would ſell, and would alſo ſell another.—Without loſs of time, he ſaid that he would hold Pott to his bargain—but he reckoned without his hoſt. "No, no," ſaid Pott, "you are not the "man I took you for—your correſpondence was

" put into my hands—I ſaw that you had de-
" ceived me, and it was my duty, as a man
" *who loves truth above all things*, to hinder you
" from deceiving the world. I have not writ-
" ten the book you deſired me. I did not work
" for you, but for myſelf—therefore you get
" not a groſchen." " Why, Sir," ſaid Bahrdt,
" we both know that this won't do. You and
" I have already tried it. You received Stark's
" manuſcript, to be printed by Walther—Wal-
" ther and you ſent it hither to Michaelis, that I
" might ſee it during the printing. I wrote an
" illuſtration and a key, which made the fellow
" very ridiculous, and they were printed toge-
" ther, with one title page.—You know that we
" were caſt in court.—Walther was obliged to
" print the work as Stark firſt ordered, and we
" loſt all our labour.—So ſhall you now, for I
" will commence an action this inſtant, and let
" me ſee with what face you will defend your-
" ſelf, within a few weeks of your laſt appear-
" ance in court." Pott ſaid, " You may try
" this. My work is already ſold, and diſperſed
" over all Germany—and I have no objection to
" begin yours to-morrow—believe me, it will
" ſell." Bahrdt pondered—and reſolved to write
one himſelf.

This is another ſpecimen of the *Union*.

Dr.

Dr. Carl Friedirich Bahrdt was born in 1741. His father was then a pariſh miniſter, and afterwards Profeſſor of Theology at Leipzig, where he died in 1775. The youth, when at College, enliſted in the Pruſſian ſervice as a huſſar, but was bought off by his father. He was M. A. in 1761. He became catechiſt in his father's church, was a popular preacher, and publiſhed ſermons in 1765, and ſome controverſial writings, which did him honour—But he then began to indulge in conviviality, and in anonymous paſquinades, uncommonly bitter and offenſive. No perſon was ſafe—Profeſſors—Magiſtrates—Clergymen—had his chief notice—alſo ſtudents—and even comrades and friends. (Bahrdt ſays, that theſe things might cut to the quick, but they were all juſt.) Unluckily his temperament was what the atomical philoſophers (who can explain every thing by æthers and vibrations) call ſanguine. He *therefore* (his own word) was a paſſionate admirer of the ladies. Coming home from ſupper he frequently met a young Miſs in the way to his lodgings, neatly dreſſed in a roſe-coloured ſilk jacket and train, and a ſable bonnet, coſtly, and like a lady. One evening, (after ſome old Rheniſh, as he ſays,) he ſaw the lady home. Some time after, the miſtreſs of the houſe, Madam Godſchuſky, came into his room, and ſaid that the poor maiden was pregnant.

pregnant. He could not help that—but it was very unfortunate, and would ruin him if known. —He therefore gave the old lady a bond for 200 dahlers, to be paid by inſtalments of twenty-five. ——" The girl was ſenſible, and good, and as he " had already paid for it, and her converſation " was agreeable, he did not diſcontinue his ac- " quaintance." A comrade one day told him, that one Bel, a magiſtrate, whom he had lampooned, knew the affair, and would bring it into court, unleſs he immediately retired the bond. This bond was the only evidence, but it was enough. Neither Bahrdt nor his friend could raiſe the money. But they fell on another contrivance. They got Madam Godſchuſky to meet them at another houſe, in order to receive the money. Bahrdt was in a cloſet, and his comrade wore a ſword. The woman could not be prevailed on to produce the bond till Bahrdt ſhould arrive, and the money be put into her hands, with a preſent to herſelf. The comrade tried to flutter her, and, drawing his ſword, ſhewed her how men fenced—made paſſes at the wall—and then at her—but ſhe was too firm—he then threw away his ſword, and began to try to force the paper from her. She defended herſelf a good while, but at length he got the paper out of her pocket, tore it in pieces, opened the

the cloſet-door, and ſaid, "There you b—, "there is the honourable fellow whom you and "your wh— have bullied—but it is with me "you have to do now, and you know that I can "bring you to the gallows." There was a great ſquabble to be ſure, ſays B. but it ended, and I thought all was now over.—But Mr. Bel had got word of it, and brought it into court the very day that Bahrdt was to have made ſome very reverend appearance at church—In ſhort, after many attempts of his poor father to ſave him, he was obliged to ſend in his gown and band, and to quit the place. It was ſome comfort, however, that Madam Godſchuſky and the young Miſs did not fare much better. They were both impriſoned. Madam G. died ſome time after of ſome ſhocking diſeaſe. The court-records give a very different account of the whole, and particularly of the ſcuffle; but Bahrdt's ſtory is enough.

Bahrdt ſays, that his father was ſevere—but acknowledges that his own temperament was haſty, (why does not his father's temperament excuſe ſomething? *Vibratiunculæ* will explain every thing or nothing.) "*Therefore* (again) I ſometimes "forgot myſelf.—One day I laid a loaded piſtol "on the table, and told him that he ſhould meet "with that if he went on ſo. But I was only "ſeventeen."

Dr.

Dr. Bahrdt was, of courſe, obliged to leave the place. His friends, and Semler in particular, an eminent theological writer, who had formed a very favourable opinion of his uncommon talents, were aſſiduous in their endeavours to get an eſtabliſhment for him. But his high opinion of himſelf, his temper, impetuous, precipitant, and overbearing, and a bitter ſatirical habit which he had freely indulged in his outſet of life, made their endeavours very ineffectual.

At laſt he got a profeſſorſhip at Erlangen, then at Erfurth, and in 1771, at Gieſſen. But in all theſe places he was no ſooner ſettled than he got into diſputes with his colleagues and with the eſtabliſhed church, being a ſtrenuous partizan of the innovations which were attempted to be made in the doctrines of Chriſtianity. In his anonymous publications, he did not truſt to rational diſcuſſion alone, but had recourſe to ridicule and perſonal anecdotes, and indulged in the moſt cutting ſarcaſms and groſs ſcurrility. —Being fond of convivial company, his income was inſufficient for the craving demand, and as ſoon as he found that anecdote and ſlander always procured readers, he never ceaſed writing. He had wonderful readineſs and activity, and ſpared neither friends nor foes in his anonymous performances. But this could not laſt, and his avowed theological writings were ſuch

ſuch as could not be ſuffered in a Profeſſor of Divinity. The very ſtudents at Gieſſen were ſhocked with ſome of his liberties. After much wrangling in the church judicatories he was juſt going to be diſmiſſed, when he got an invitation to Marſchlins in Switzerland to ſuperintend an academy. He went thither about the year 1776, and formed the ſeminary after the model of Baſedow's Philanthropine, or academy, at Deſſau, of which I have already given ſome account. It had acquired ſome celebrity, and the plan was peculiarly ſuited to Bahrdt's taſte, becauſe it left him at liberty to introduce any ſyſtem of religious or irreligious opinions that he pleaſed. He reſolved to avail himſelf of this liberty, and though a clergyman and Doctor of Theology, he would outſtrip even Baſedow, who had no eccleſiaſtical orders to reſtrain him. But he wanted the moderation, the prudence, and the principle of Baſedow. He had, by this time, formed his opinion of mankind, by meditating on the feelings of his own mind. His theory of human nature was ſimple—"The leading pro-"penſities, ſays he, of the human mind are "three—Inſtinctive liberty (*Freyheitſtriebe*)—in-"ſtinctive activity (*Triebe fur Thatigkeit*)—and "inſtinctive love (*Liebes triebe*)." I do not wiſh to miſunderſtand him, but I can give no other tranſlation.—"If a man is obſtructed in the ex-"erciſe

" ercise of any of these propensities, he suffers " an injury.—The business of a good education " therefore is to teach us how they are to be en- " joyed in the highest degree."

We need not be surprised although the Doctor should find it difficult to manage the Cyclopedia in his Philanthropine in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the neighbourhood, which was habituated to very different sentiments.—Accordingly he found his situation as uncomfortable as at Giessen. He says, in one of his latest performances, " that the Grisons were a strong " instance of the immense importance of educa- " tion. They knew nothing but their handi- " crafts, and their minds were as coarse as their " persons." He quarrelled with them all, and was obliged to abscond after lying some time in arrest.

He came to Durkheim or Turkheim, where his father was or had been minister. His literary talents were well known.—After some little time he got an association formed for erecting and supporting a Philanthropine or house of education. A large fund was collected, and he was enabled to travel into Holland and England, to engage pupils, and was furnished with proper recommendations.—On his return the plan was carried into execution. The castle or residence of Count Leining Hartzburgh at Heidesheim, having gardens,

park, and every handſome accommodation, had been fitted up for it, and it was conſecrated by a ſolemn religious feſtival in 1778.

But his old misfortunes purſued him. He had indeed no colleagues to quarrel with, but his avowed publications became every day more obnoxious—and when any of his anonymous pieces had a great run, he could not ſtifle his vanity and conceal the author's name.—Of theſe pieces, ſome were even ſhocking to decency.—It was indifferent to him whether it was friend or foe that he abuſed; and ſome of them were ſo horribly injurious to the characters of the moſt reſpectable men in the ſtate, that he was continually under the correction of the courts of juſtice. There was hardly a man of letters that had ever been in his company who did not ſuffer by it. For his conſtant practice was to father every new ſtep that he took towards Atheiſm on ſome other perſon; and, whenever the reader ſees, in the beginning of a book, any perſon celebrated by the author for ſound ſenſe, profound judgment, accurate reaſoning, or praiſed for acts of friendſhip and kindneſs to himſelf, he may be aſſured that, before the cloſe of the book, this man will convince Dr. Bahrdt in ſome private converſation, that ſome doctrine, cheriſhed and venerated by all Chriſtians, is a piece of knaviſh ſuperſtition. So loſt was Dr. Bahrdt to all ſenſe of ſhame. He

ſaid

ſaid that he held his own opinions independent of all mankind, and was indifferent about their praiſe or their reproach.

Bahrdt's licentious, very licentious life, was the cauſe of moſt of theſe enormities. No income could ſuffice, and he wrote for bread. The artful manner in which the literary manufacture of Germany was conducted, made it impoſſible to hinder the rapid diſperſion of his writings over all Germany; and the indelicate and coarſe maw of the public was as ravenous as the ſenſuality of Dr. Bahrdt, who really battened in the Epicurean ſty. The conſequence of all this was that he was obliged to fly from Heideſheim, leaving his ſureties in the *Philanthropine* to pay about 14,000 dahlers, beſides debts without number to his friends. He was impriſoned at Dienheim, but was releaſed I know not how, and ſettled at Halle. There he ſunk to be a keeper of a tavern and billiard-table, and his houſe became the reſort and the bane of the ſtudents in the Univerſity.—He was obliged therefore to leave the city. He had ſomehow got funds which enabled him to buy a little vineyard, prettily ſituated in the neighbourhood. This he fitted up with every accommodation that could invite the ſtudents, and called it *Bahrdt's Ruhe*. We have already ſeen the occupations of Dr. B. in this *Buen Retiro*—Can we call it *otium*

cum dignitate? Alas, no! He had not lived two years here, buſtling and toiling for the German Union, ſometimes without a bit of bread—when he was ſent to priſon at Halle, and then to Magdeburg, where he was more than a year in jail. He was ſet at liberty, and returned to *Bahrdt's Ruhe*, not, alas, to live at eaſe, but to lie down on a ſickbed, where, after more than a year's ſuffering increaſing pain, he died on the 23d of April 1793, the moſt wretched and loathſome victim of unbridled ſenſuality.

The account of his caſe is written by a friend, a Dr. Jung, who profeſſes to defend his memory and his principles. The medical deſcription melted my heart, and I am certain would make his bittereſt enemy weep. Jung repeatedly ſays that the caſe was not venereal, calls it the vineyard diſeaſe—the quickſilver diſeaſe, (he was dying of an unconquerable ſalivation,)—and yet, through the whole of his narration, relates ſymptoms and ſufferings, which, as a medical man, he could not poſſibly mean to be taken in any other ſenſe than as effects of pox. He meant to pleaſe the enemies of poor Bahrdt, knowing that ſuch a man could have no friends, and being himſelf ignorant of what friendſhip or goodneſs is. The fate of this poor creature affected me more than any thing I have read of a great while. All his open enemies put together have not ſaid ſo much ill

of

of him as his truſted friend Pott, and another confident, whoſe name I cannot recollect, who publiſhed in his lifetime an anonymous book called *Bahrdt with the iron brow*—and this fellow Jung, under the abſurd maſk of friendſhip, exhibited the loathſome carcaſe for a florin, like a malefactor's at Surgeons Hall. Such were the fruits of the German Union, of that Illumination that was to refine the heart of man, and bring to maturity the ſeeds of native virtue, which are choaked in the hearts of other men by ſuperſtition and deſpotiſm. We ſee nothing but mutual treachery and baſe deſertion.

I do not concern myſelf with the gradual perverſion of Dr. Bahrdt's moral and religious opinions. But he affected to be the enlightener and reformer of mankind; and affirmed, that all the miſchiefs in life originated from deſpotiſm ſupported by ſuperſtition. "In vain," ſays he, "do "we complain of the inefficacy of religion. All "poſitive religion is founded on injuſtice. No "Prince has a right to preſcribe or ſanction any "ſuch ſyſtem. Nor would he do it, were not "the prieſts the firmeſt pillars of his tyranny, "and ſuperſtition the ſtrongeſt fetters for his "ſubjects. He dares not ſhow Religion as ſhe is, "pure and undefiled—She would charm the eyes "and the hearts of mankind, would immediately produce true morality, would open

" the eyes of freeborn man, would teach him " what are his rights, and who are his oppreſ- " ſors, and Princes would vaniſh from the face " of the earth."

Therefore, without troubling ourſelves with the truth or falſehood of his religion of Nature, and aſſuming it as an indiſputable point, that Dr. Bahrdt has ſeen it in this natural and ſo effective purity, it is ſurely a very pertinent queſtion, " Whether has the ſight produced on his mind " an effect ſo far ſuperior to the acknowledged " faintneſs of the impreſſion of Chriſtianity on " the bulk of mankind, that it will be prudent " to adopt the plan of the German Union, and " at once put an end to the diviſions which ſo un- " fortunately alienate the minds of profeſſing " Chriſtians from each other?" The account here given of Dr. Bahrdt's life ſeems to decide the queſtion.

But it will be ſaid that I have only related ſo many inſtances of the quarrels of Prieſts and their ſlaviſh adherents with Dr. Bahrdt. Let us view him in his ordinary conduct, not as the Champion and Martyr of Illumination, but as an ordinary citizen, a huſband, a father, a friend, a teacher of youth, a clergyman.

When Dr. Bahrdt was a pariſh-miniſter, and preſident of ſome inferior eccleſiaſtical diſtrict, he was empowered to take off the cenſures of the

the church from a young woman who had born a baſtard child. By violence he again reduced her to the ſame condition, and eſcaped cenſure, by the poor girl's dying of a fever before her pregnancy was far advanced, or even legally documented. Alſo, on the night of the ſolemn farce of conſecrating his Philanthropine, he debauched the maid-ſervant, who bore twins, and gave him up for the father. The thing, I preſume, was not judicially proved, otherwiſe he would have ſurely been diſgraced; but it was afterwards made evident, by the letters which were found by Pott, when he undertook to write his life. A ſeries of theſe letters had paſſed between him and one Graf a ſteward, who was employed by him to give the woman the ſmall pittance by which ſhe and the infants were maintained. Remonſtrances were made when the money was not advanced; and there are particularly letters about the end of 1779, which ſhow that Bahrdt had ceaſed giving any thing. On the of February 1780, the infants (three years old) were taken away in the night, and were found expoſed, the one at Ufſtein, and the other at Worms, many miles diſtant from each other, and almoſt frozen to death. The firſt was diſcovered by its moans, by a ſhoemaker in a field by the road-ſide, about ſix in the morning; the other was found by two girls between the hedges in a lane, ſet between two great

ſtones, paſt all crying. The poor mother travelled up and down the country in queſt of her infants, and hearing theſe accounts, found them both, and took one of them home; but not being able to maintain both, when Bahrdt's commiſſioner refuſed contributing any more, it remained with the good woman who had taken it in *.

Bahrdt was married in 1772 while at Gieſſen; but after waſting the greateſt part of his wife's little fortune left her by a former huſband, he was provoked, by loſing 1000 florins (about 110*l.*) in the hands of her brother who would not pay it up. After this he uſed her very ill, and ſpeaks very contemptuouſly of her in his own account of his life, calling her a dowdy, jealous, and every thing contemptible. In two infamous novels, he exhibits characters, in which ſhe is repreſented in a moſt cruel manner; yet this woman (perhaps during the honey-moon) was enticed by him one day into the bath, in the pond of the garden of the Philanthropine at Heideſheim, and there, in the ſight of all the pupils, did he (alſo undreſſed) toy with his naked wife in the water. When at Halle, he uſed the poor woman extremely ill, keeping a miſtreſs in the houſe,

* This is worſe than Rouſſeau's conduct, who only ſent his children to the Foundling hoſpital, that he might never know them again. (See his Confeſſions.)

and

and giving her the whole command of the family, while the wife and daughter were confined to a ſeparate part of it. When in priſon at Magdeburgh, the ſtrumpet lived with him, and bore him two children. He brought them all to his houſe when he was ſet at liberty. Such barbarous uſage made the poor woman at laſt leave him and live with her brother. The daughter died about a year before him, of an overdoſe of laudanum given by her father, to procure ſleep when ill of a fever. He ended his own wretched life in the ſame manner, unable, poor man, to bear his diſtreſs, without the ſmalleſt compunction or ſorrow for his conduct; and the laſt thing he did was to ſend for a bookſeller, (Vipink of Halle, who had publiſhed ſome of his vile pieces,) and recommend his ſtrumpet and her children to his protection, without one thought of his injured wife.

I ſhall end my account of this profligate monſter with a ſpecimen of his way of uſing his friends.

" Of all the acquiſitions which I made in Eng-
" land, Mr. —— (the name appears at full
" length) was the moſt important. This perſon
" was accompliſhed in the higheſt degree. With
" ſound judgment, great genius, and correct taſte,
" he was perfectly a man of the world. He was
" my friend, and the only perſon who warmly in-
" tereſted

" tereſted himſelf for my inſtitution. To his warm " and repeated recommendations I owe all the " pupils I got in England, and many moſt re- " ſpectable connections; for he was univerſally " eſteemed as a man of learning and of the moſt " unblemiſhed worth. He was my friend, my " conductor, and I may ſay my preſerver; for " when I had not bread for two days, he took " me to his houſe, and ſupplied all my wants. " This gentleman was a clergyman, and had a " ſmall but genteel and ſelected congregation, a " flock which required ſtrong food. My friend " preached to them pure natural religion, and " was beloved by them. His ſermons were ex- " cellent, and delivered with native energy and " grace, becauſe they came from the heart. I " had once the honour of preaching for him. " But what a difference—I found myſelf afraid— " I feared to ſpeak too boldly, becauſe I did not " know where I was, and thought myſelf ſpeak- " ing to my crouching countrymen. But the " liberty of England opens every heart, and " makes it acceſſible to morality. I can give a " very remarkable inſtance.

" The women of the town in London do not, " to be ſure, meet with my unqualified appro- " bation in all reſpects. But it is impoſſible not to " be ſtruck with the propriety and decency of their " manners, ſo unlike the clowniſh impudence of

" our

" our German wh—. I could not diſtinguiſh
" them from modeſt women, otherwiſe than by
" their greater attention and eagerneſs to ſhew
" me civility. My friend uſed to laugh at my
" miſtakes, and I could not believe him when he
" told me that the lady who had kindly ſhewed
" the way to me, a foreigner, was a votary of
" Venus. He maintained that Engliſh liberty
" naturally produced morality and kindneſs. I
" ſtill doubted, and he ſaid that he would con-
" vince me by my own experience. Theſe girls
" are to be ſeen in crouds every evening in every
" quarter of the town. Although ſome of them
" may not have even a ſhift, they come out in the
" evening dreſſed like princeſſes, in hired clothes,
" which are entruſted to them without any fear
" of their making off with them. Their fine
" ſhape, their beautiful ſkin, and dark brown
" hair, their boſoms, ſo prettily ſet off by their
" black ſilk dreſs, and above all, the gentle
" ſweetneſs of their manners, makes an impreſ-
" ſion in the higheſt degree favourable to them.
" They civilly offer their arm, and ſay, " My
" dear, will you give me a glaſs of wine. If you
" give them no encouragement, they paſs on, and
" give no farther trouble. I went with my
" friend to Covent Garden, and after admiring
" the innumerable beauties we ſaw in the piazzas,
" we gave our arm to three very agreeable girls,
" and

" and immediately turned in to a temple of the " Cytherean Goddeſs, which is to be found at " every ſecond door of the city, and were ſhown " into a parlour elegantly carpeted and furniſhed, " and lighted with wax, with every other accom- " modation at hand. My friend called for a " pint of wine, and this was all the expence, for " which we received ſo much civility. The con- " verſation and other behaviour of the ladies " was agreeable in the higheſt degree, and *not* " *a word* paſſed that would have diſtinguiſhed " them from nuns, or that was not in the higheſt " degree mannerly and elegant. We parted in " the ſtreet—and ſuch is the liberty of England, " that my friend ran not the ſmalleſt riſk of ſuf- " fering either in his honour or uſefulneſs.— " Such is the effect of freedom."

We may be ſure, the poor man was aſtoniſhed when he ſaw his name before the public as one of the enlighteners of Chriſtian Europe. He is really a man of worth, and of the moſt irreproachable character, and knew that whatever might be the protection of Britiſh liberty, ſuch conduct would ruin him with his own hearers, and in the minds of all his reſpectable countrymen. He therefore ſent a vindication of his character from this ſlanderous abuſe to the publiſhers of the principal newſpapers and literary journals in Germany. The vindication is complete, and B. is convicted

of having related what he *could not poſſibly have ſeen.* It is worthy of remark, that the vindication did not appear in the *Berlin Monatſchrift*, nor in any of the Journals which make favourable mention of the performances of the Enlighteners.

"Think not, indignant reader," ſays Arbuthnot, "that this man's life is uſeleſs to mortals." It ſhows in a ſtrong light the falſity of all his declamations in favour of his ſo much praiſed natural religion and univerſal kindneſs and humanity. No man of the party writes with more perſuaſive energy, and, though his petulance and precipitant ſelf-conceit lead him frequently aſtray, no man has occaſionally put all the arguments of theſe philoſophers in a clearer light; yet we ſee that all is falſe and hollow. He is a vile hypocrite, and the real aim of all his writings is to make money, by foſtering the ſenſual propenſities of human nature, although he ſees and feels that the completion of the plan of the German Union would be an event more deſtructive and lamentable than any that can be pointed out in the annals of ſuperſtition. I will not ſay that all partiſans of Illumination are hogs of the ſty of Epicurus like this wretch. But the reader muſt acknowledge that, in the inſtitution of Weiſhaupt, there is the ſame train of ſenſual indulgence laid along the whole, and that purity of heart and life is no part of the morality that is held forth as the perfection of

human

human nature. The final abolition of Chriſtianity is undoubtedly one of its objects—whether as an end of their efforts, or as a mean for the attainment of ſome end ſtill more important. Purity of heart is perhaps the moſt diſtinctive feature of Chriſtian morality. Of this Dr. Bahrdt ſeems to have had no conception; and his inſtitution, as well as his writings, ſhow him to have been a very coarſe ſenſualiſt. But his taſte, though coarſe, accorded with what Weiſhaupt conſidered as a ruling propenſity, by which he had the beſt chance of ſecuring the fidelity of his ſubjects.—Craving deſires, beyond the bounds of our means, were the natural conſequences of indulgence—and ſince the purity of Chriſtian morality ſtood in his way, his firſt care was to clear the road by rooting it out altogether—What can follow but general diſſoluteneſs of manners?

Nothing can more diſtinctly prove the crooked politics of the Reformers than this. It may be conſidered as the mainſpring of their whole machine. Their pupils were to be led by means of their ſenſual appetites, and the aim of their conductors was not to inform them, but merely to lead them; not to reform, but to rule the world.—They would reign, though in hell, rather than ſerve in heaven.—Dr. Bahrdt was a true Apoſtle of Illuminatiſm; and though his torch was made of the groſſeſt materials, and "ſerved only to diſcover

"ſights

" ſights of woe," the horrid glare darted into every corner, rouſing hundreds of filthy vermin, and directing their flight to the rotten carrion where they could beſt depoſit their poiſon and their eggs; in the breaſts, to wit, of the ſenſual and profligate, there to feſter and burſt forth in a new and filthy progeny; and it is aſtoniſhing what numbers were thus rouſed into action. The ſcheme of Reading Societies had taken prodigiouſly, and became a very profitable part of the literary trade of Germany. The bookſellers and writers ſoon perceived its importance, and acted in concert.

I might fill a volume with extracts from the criticiſms which were publiſhed on the *Religion Edict* ſo often mentioned already. The Leipzig catalogue for one year contained 173. Although it concerned the Pruſſian States alone, theſe appeared in every corner of Germany; nay, alſo in Holland, in Flanders, in Hungary, in Switzerland, in Courland, and in Livonia. This ſhows it to have been the operation of an Aſſociated Band, as was intimated to the King with ſo much petulance by Mirabeau. There was (paſt all doubt) ſuch a combination among the innumerable ſcribblers who ſupplied the fairs of Leipzig and Frankfort. Mirabeau calls it a *Conjuration des Philoſophes*, an expreſſion very clear to himſelf, for the myriads of garreteers who have

have long fed the craving mouth of Paris ("always thirſting after ſome new thing") called themſelves philoſophers, and, like the gangs of St. Giles's, converſed with each other in a cant of of their own, full of *morale*, of *energie*, of *bienveillance*, &c. &c. &c. unintelligible or miſunderſtood by other men, and uſed for the purpoſe of deceit. While Mirabeau lived too, they formed a *Conjuration*. The 14th of July 1790, the moſt ſolemn invocation of the Divine preſence ever made on the face of this earth, put an end to the propriety of this appellation; for it became neceſſary (in the progreſs of political Illumination) to declare that oaths were nonſenſe, becauſe the invoked was a creature of the imagination, and the grand federation, like Weiſhaupt and Bahrdt's Maſonic Chriſtianity, is declared, to thoſe initiated into the higher myſteries, to be a lie. But if we have no longer a *Conjuration des Philoſophes*, we have a gang of ſcribblers that has got poſſeſſion of the public mind by their management of the literary journals of Germany, and have made licentious ſentiments in politics, in morals, and in religion, as familiar as were formerly the articles of ordinary news. All the ſceptical writings of England put together will not make half the number that have appeared in Proteſtant Germany during the laſt twelve or fifteen years. And, in the Criticiſms on the Edict, it is hard to ſay whether

whether infidelity or diſloyalty fills the moſt pages.

To ſuch a degree had the Illuminati carried this favourite and important point that they obtained the direction even of thoſe whoſe office it was to prevent it. There is at Vienna, as at Berlin, an office for examining and licenſing writings before they can have their courſe in the market. This office publiſhes annually an index of forbidden books. In this index are included the account of the laſt *Operations of Spartacus and Philo in the Order of Illuminati*, and a diſſertation on *The Final Overthrow of Free Maſonry*, a moſt excellent performance, ſhowing the gradual corruption and final perverſion of that ſociety to a ſeminary of ſedition. Alſo the Vienna *Magazine of Literature and Arts*, which contains many accounts of the interferences of the Illuminati in the diſturbances of Europe. The Cenſor who occaſioned this prohibition was an *Illuminatus*, named *Retzer*. He makes a moſt pitiful and Jeſuitical defence, ſhowing himſelf completely verſant in all the chicane of the *Illuminati*, and devoted to their Infidel principles. (See *Rel. Begebenh.* 1795. p. 493.)

There are two performances which give us much information reſpecting the ſtate of moral and political opinions in Germany about this time. One of them is called, *Proofs of a hidden Combination to deſtroy the Freedom of Thought and*

Writing in Germany. Theſe proofs are general, taken from many concurring circumſtances in the condition of German literature. They are convincing to a thinking mind, but are too abſtracted to be very impreſſive on ordinary readers. The other is the *Appeal to my Country*, which I mentioned in page 84. This is much more ſtriking, and, in each branch of literature, gives a progreſſive account of the changes of ſentiment, all ſupported by the evidence of the books themſelves. The author puts paſt contradiction, that in every ſpecies of literary compoſition into which it was poſſible, without palpable abſurdity, to introduce licentious or ſeditious principles, it was done. Many romances, novels, journies through Germany and other countries*, are written on purpoſe to attach praiſe or reproach to certain ſentiments, characters, and pieces of conduct. The Prince, the nobleman, is made deſpotic, oppreſſive, unfeeling, or ridiculous—the poor, and the men of talents, are unfortunate and neglected—and here and there a fictitious Graf or Baron is made a divinity, by philanthropy expreſſed in romantic charity and kindneſs, or oſtentatious indifference for the little honours which

* A plan adopted within theſe few years in our own country, which, if proſecuted with the ſame induſtry with which it has been begun, will ſoon render our circulating Libraries ſo many Nurſeries of Sedition and Impiety. (See Travels into Germany by Elle.)

are

are ſo precious in the eyes of a German.—In ſhort, the ſyſtem of Weiſhaupt and Knigge is carried into vigorous effect over all. In both theſe performances, and indeed in a vaſt number of other pieces, I ſee that the influence of Nicholai is much commented on, and conſidered as having had the chief hand in all thoſe innovations.

Thus I think it clearly appears, that the ſuppreſſion of the Illuminati in Bavaria and of the Union in Brandenburgh, were inſufficient for removing the evils which they had introduced. The Elector of Bavaria was obliged to iſſue another proclamation in November 1790, warning his ſubjects of their repeated machinations, and particularly enjoining the Magiſtrates to obſerve carefully the aſſemblies in the Reading Societies, which were multiplying in his States. A ſimilar proclamation was made and repeated by the Regency of Hanover, and it was on this occaſion that Mauvillon impudently avowed the moſt anarchical opinions.—But Weiſhaupt and his agents were ſtill buſy and ſucceſsful. The habit of plotting had formed itſelf into a regular ſyſtem. Societies now acted every where in ſecret, in correſpondence with ſimilar ſocieties in diſtant places. And thus a mode of co-operation was furniſhed to the diſcontented, the reſtleſs, and the unprincipled in all places, without even the trouble of

formal initiations, and without any external appearances by which the exiſtence and occupations of the members could be diſtinguiſhed. The Hydra's teeth were already ſown, and each grew up, independent of the reſt, and ſoon ſent out its own offsets.—In all places where ſuch ſecret practices were going on, there did not fail to appear ſome individuals of more than common zeal and activity, who took the lead, each in his own circle. This gave a conſiſtency and unity to the operations of the reſt, and they, encouraged by this co-operation, could now attempt things which they would not have otherwiſe ventured on. It is not till this ſtate of things obtains, that this influence becomes ſenſible to the public. Philo, in his public declaration, unwarily lets this appear. Speaking of the numerous little ſocieties in which their principles were cultivated, he ſays, "we thus begin to be formidable." It may now alarm—but it is now too late. The ſame germ is now ſprouting in another place.

I muſt not forget to take notice that about this time (1787 or 1788), there appeared an invitation from a Baron or Prince S——, Governor of the Dutch fortreſs H——, before the troubles in Holland, to form a ſociety *for the Protection of Princes*.—The plan is expreſſed in very enigmatical terms, but ſuch as plainly ſhew it to be merely

merely an odd title, to catch the public eye; for the Aſſociation is of the ſame ſeditious kind with all thoſe already ſpoken of, viz. profeſſing to enlighten the minds of men, and making them imagine that all their hardſhips proceed from ſuperſtition, which ſubjects them to uſeleſs and crafty prieſts; and from their own indolence and want of patriotiſm, which make them ſubmit to the mal-adminiſtration of miniſters. The Sovereign is ſuppoſed to be innocent, but to be a cypher, and every magiſtrate, who is not choſen by the people actually under him, is held to be a deſpot, and is to be bound hand and foot.—Many circumſtances concur to prove that the projector of this inſidious plan is the Prince Salms, who ſo aſſiduouſly fomented all the diſturbances in the Dutch and Auſtrian Netherlands. He had, before this time, taken into his ſervice Zwack, the Cato of the Illuminati. The project had gone ſome length when it was diſcovered and ſuppreſſed by the States.

Zimmerman, who had been Preſident of the Illuminati in Manheim, was alſo a moſt active perſon in propagating their doctrines in other countries. He was employed as a miſſionary, and erected ſome Lodges even in Rome—alſo at Neufchatel—and in Hungary. He was frequently ſeen in the latter place by a gentleman of my acquaintance, and preached up all the oſtenſible

doctrines of Illuminatism in the most public manner, and made many profelytes. But when it was discovered that their real and fundamental doctrines were different from those which he professed in order to draw in profelytes, Zimmerman left the country in haste.—Some time after this he was arrested in Prussia for seditious harangues —but he escaped, and has not been heard of since.—When he was in Hungary he boasted of having erected above an hundred Lodges in different parts of Europe, some of which were in England.

That the Illuminati and other hidden Cosmopolitical societies had some influence in bringing about the French Revolution, or at least in accelerating it, can hardly be doubted. In reading the secret correspondence, I was always surprised at not finding any reports from France, and something like a hesitation about establishing a mission there; nor am I yet able thoroughly to account for it. But there is abundant evidence that they interfered, both in preparing for it in the same manner as in Germany, and in accelerating its progress. Some letters in the Brunswick Journal from one *Campe*, who was an inspector of the seminaries of education, a man of talents,

talents, and an *Illuminatus*, put it beyond doubt. He was reſiding in Paris during its firſt movements, and gives a minute account of them, lamenting their exceſſes, on account of their imprudence, and the riſk of ſhocking the nation, and thus deſtroying the project, but juſtifying the motives, on the true principles of Cosmopolitiſm. The Vienna Zeitſchrift and the Magazine of Literature and Fine Arts for 1790, and other pamphlets of that date, ſay the ſame thing in a clearer manner. I ſhall lay together ſome paſſages from ſuch as I have met with, which I think will ſhew beyond all poſſibility of doubt that the Illuminati took an active part in the whole tranſaction, and may be ſaid to have been its chief contrivers. I ſhall premiſe a few obſervations, which will give a clearer view of the matter.

CHAP. IV.

The French Revolution.

DURING theſe diſſenſions and diſcontents, and this general fermentation of the public mind in Germany, political occurrences in France gave exerciſe and full ſcope for the operation of that ſpirit of revolt which had long growled in ſecret in the different corners of that great empire. The Coſmo-political and ſceptical opinions and ſentiments ſo much cultivated in all the Lodges of the *Philalethes* had by this time been openly profeſſed by many of the ſages of France, and artfully interwoven with their ſtatiſtical economics. The many conteſts between the King and the Parliament of Paris about the regiſtration of his edicts, had given occaſion to much diſcuſſion, and had made the public familiarly acquainted with topics altogether unſuitable to the abſolute monarchy of France.

This

This acquaintance with the natural expectations of the ſubject, and the expediency of a candid attention on the part of Government to theſe expectations, and a view of Legiſlation and Government founded on a very liberal interpretation of all theſe things, was prodigiouſly promoted by the raſh interference of France in the diſpute between Great Britain and her colonies. In this attempt to ruin Britain, even the court of France was obliged to preach the doctrines of Liberty, and to take its chance that Frenchmen would conſent to be the only ſlaves. But their officers and ſoldiers who returned from America, imported the American principles, and in every company found hearers who liſtened with delight and regret to their faſcinating tale of American independence. During the war, the Miniſter, who had too confidently pledged himſelf for the deſtruction of Britain, was obliged to allow the Pariſians to amuſe themſelves with theatrical entertainments, where Engliſh law was repreſented as oppreſſion, and every fretful extravagance of the Americans was applauded as a noble ſtruggle for native freedom.—All wiſhed for a taſte of that liberty and equality which they were allowed to applaud on the ſtage; but as ſoon as they came from the theatre into the ſtreet, they found themſelves under all their former reſtraints. The ſweet

charm had found its way into their hearts, and all the luxuries of France became as dull as common life does to a fond girl when she lays down her novel.

In this irritable state of mind a spark was sufficient for kindling a flame. To import this dangerous delicacy of American growth, France had expended many millions, and was drowned in debts. The mad prodigality of the Royal Family and the Court had drained the treasury, and foreſtalled every livre of the revenue. The edicts for new taxes and forced loans were most unwelcome and oppressive.

The *Avocats au parlement* had nothing to do with state-affairs, being very little more than barristers in the highest court of justice; and the highest claim of the Presidents of this court was to be a sort of humble counsellors to the King in common matters. It was a very strange inconsistency in that ingenious nation to permit such people to touch on those state-subjects; for, in fact, the King of France was an absolute Monarch, and the subjects were slaves. This is the result of all their painful research, notwithstanding that glimmerings of natural justice and of freedom are to be met with in their records. There could not be found in their history so much as a tolerable account of the manner of calling

calling the nation together, to learn from the people how their chains would beſt pleaſe their fancy. But all this was againſt nature, and it was neceſſary that it ſhould come to an end, the firſt time that the Monarch confeſſed that he could not do every thing unleſs they put the tools into his hands. As things were approaching gradually but rapidly to this condition, the impertinent interference (for ſo a Frenchman, ſubject of the Grand Monarch, *muſt* think it) of the advocates of the Parliament of Paris was popular in the higheſt degree; and it muſt be confeſſed, that in general it was patriotic, however inconſiſtent with the conſtitution. They felt themſelves pleading the cauſe of humanity and natural juſtice. This would embolden honeſt and worthy men to ſpeak truth, however unwelcome to the court. In general, it muſt alſo be granted that they ſpoke with caution and with reſpect to the ſovereign powers; and they had frequently the pleaſure of being the means of mitigating the burdens of the people. The Parliament of Paris, by this conduct, came to be looked up to as a ſort of mediator between the King and his ſubjects; and as the avocats ſaw this, they naturally roſe in their own eſtimation far above the rank in which the conſtitution of their government had placed them. For it muſt always be kept in mind, that the robe was never conſidered as the dreſs of a Nobleman, although

although the caſſock was. An advocate was merely not a rotourier; and though we can hardly conceive a profeſſion more truly honourable than the diſpenſing of diſtributive juſtice, nor any ſkill more congenial to a rational mind than that of the practical morality which we, in theory, conſider as the light by which they are always conducted; and although even the artificial conſtitution of France had long been obliged to bow to the dictates of nature and humanity, and to confer nobility, and even title, on ſuch of the profeſſors of the municipal law as had, by their ſkill and their honourable character, riſen to the firſt offices of their profeſſion, yet the Nobleſſe de la Robe never could incorporate with the Nobleſſe du Sang, nor even with the Nobleſſe de l'Epée. The deſcendants of a Marquis de la Robe never could riſe to certain dignities in the church and at court. The avocats de parlement felt this, and ſmarted under the excluſion from court-honours; and though they eagerly courted ſuch nobility as they could attain, they ſeldom omitted any opportunity that occurred during their junior practice, of expoſing the arrogance of the Nobleſſe, and the dominion of the court. This increaſed their popularity, and in the preſent ſituation of things, being certain of ſupport, they went beyond their former cautious bounds, and introduced in their pleadings, and particularly in their joint remonſtrances

ſtrances againſt the regiſtration of edicts, all the wire-drawn morality, and coſmo-political juriſprudence, which they had ſo often rehearſed in the Lodges, and which had of late been openly preached by the economiſts and philoſophers.

A ſignal was given to the nation for engaging "en maſſe" in political diſcuſſion. The *Notables* were called upon to come and adviſe the King; and the points were laid before them, in which his Majeſty (infallible till now) acknowledged his ignorance or his doubts. But who were the Notables? Were they more knowing than the King, or leſs in need of inſtruction? The nation thought otherwiſe; nay, the court thought otherwiſe; for, in ſome of the royal proclamations on this occaſion, men of letters were invited to aſſiſt with their counſels, and to give what information their reading and experience ſhould ſuggeſt as to the beſt method of convoking the States General, and of conducting their deliberations. When a Miniſter thus ſolicits advice from all the world how to govern, he moſt aſſuredly declares his own incapacity, and tells the people that now they muſt govern themſelves. This however was done, and the Miniſter, Neckar, the Philoſopher and Philanthropiſt of Geneva, ſet the example, by ſending in *his* opinion, to be laid on the council-table with the reſt. On this ſignal, counſel poured in from every garret, and the preſs groaned

groaned with advice in every ſhape. Ponderous volumes were written for the Biſhop or the Duke; a handſome 8vo for the *Notable* Officer of eighteen; pamphlets and ſingle ſheets for the loungers in the *Palais Royal*. The fermentation was aſtoniſhing; but it was no more than ſhould have been expected from the moſt cultivated, the moſt ingenious, and the leaſt baſhful nation on earth. All wrote, and all read. Not contented with bringing forth all the fruits which the Illumination of theſe bright days of reaſon had raiſed in ſuch abundance in the conſervatories of the *Philalethes*, and which had been gathered from the writings of Voltaire, Diderot, Rouſſeau, Raynal, &c. the patriotic counſellors of the Notables had ranſacked all the writings of former ages. They diſcovered THAT FRANCE HAD ALWAYS BEEN FREE! One would have thought that they had travelled with Sir John Mandeville in that country where even the ſpeeches of former times had been frozen, and were now thawing apace under the beams of the ſun of Reaſon. For many of theſe eſſays were as incongruous and mal-à-propos as the broken ſentences recorded by Mr. Addiſon in the Spectator. A gentleman who was in Paris at this time, a perſon of great judgment, and well informed in every thing reſpecting the conſtitution and preſent condition of his country, aſſured me that this invitation, followed by the memorial

memorial of Mr. Neckar, operated like an electrical ſhock. In the courſe of four or five days, the appearance of Paris was completely changed. Every where one ſaw crowds ſtaring at papers paſted on the walls—breaking into little parties—walking up and down the ſtreets in eager converſation—adjourning to coffee-houſes—and the converſation in all companies turned to politics alone; and in all theſe converſations, a new vocabulary, where every ſecond word was Morality, Philanthropy, Toleration, Freedom, and Equaliſation of property. Even at this early period perſons were liſtened to without cenſure, or even ſurpriſe, who ſaid that it was nonſenſe to think of reforming their government, and that it muſt be completely changed. In ſhort, in the courſe of a month, a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs and a rage for innovation had completely pervaded the minds of the Pariſians. The moſt conſpicuous proof of this was the unexpected fate of the Parliament. It met earlier than uſual, and to give greater eclat to its patriotic efforts, and completely to ſecure the gratitude of the people, it iſſued an arret on the preſent ſtate of the nation, containing a number of reſolutions on the different leading points of national liberty. A few months ago theſe would have been joyfully received as the Magna Charta of Freedom, and really contained all that a wiſe people ſhould deſire; but becauſe the Parliament had

had ſome time before given it as their opinion as the conſtitutional counſel of the Crown, that the States ſhould be convoked on the principles of their laſt meeting in 1614, which preſerved the diſtinctions of rank, all their paſt ſervices were forgotten—all their hard ſtruggle with the former adminiſtration, and their unconquerable courage and perſeverance, which ended only with their downfal, all were forgotten; and thoſe diſtinguiſhed members whoſe zeal and ſufferings ranked them with the moſt renowned heroes and martyrs of patriotiſm, were now regarded as the contemptible tools of Ariſtocracy. The Parliament now ſet, in a fiery troubled ſky,—to riſe no more.

Of all the barriſters in the Parliament of Paris, the moſt conſpicuous for the diſplay of the enchanting doctrines of Liberty and Equality was Mr. Duval, ſon of an Avocat in the ſame court, and ennobled about this time under the name of Deſpréſmeſnil. He was member of a Lodge of the *Amis Reunis* at Paris, called the *Contract Social*, and of the Lodge of *Chevaliers Bienfaiſants* at Lyons. His reputation as a barriſter had been prodigiouſly encreaſed about this time by his management of a cauſe, where the deſcendant of the unfortunate General Lally, after having obtained the reſtoration of the family-honours, was ſtriving to get back ſome of the eſtates,

eſtates. Mr. Lally Tollendahl had even trained himſelf to the profeſſion, and pleaded his own cauſe with aſtoniſhing abilities. But Deſpréſmenil had near connections with the family which was in poſſeſſion of the eſtates, and oppoſed him with equal powers, and more addreſs. He was on the ſide which was moſt agreeable to his favourite topics of declamation, and his pleadings attracted much notice both in Paris and in ſome of the provincial Parliaments. I mention theſe things with ſome intereſt, becauſe this was the beginning of that marked rivalſhip between Lally Tollendahl and Deſpréſmenil, which made ſuch a figure in the journals of the National Aſſembly. It ended fatally for both. Lally Tollendahl was obliged to quit the Aſſembly, when he ſaw it determined on the deſtruction of the monarchy and of all civil order, and at laſt to emigrate from his country with the loſs of all his property, and to ſubſiſt on the kindneſs of England. Deſpréſmenil attained his meridian of popularity by his diſcovery of the ſecret plan of the Court to eſtabliſh the *Cour pleniere*, and ever after this took the lead in all the ſtrong meaſures of the Parliament of Paris, which was now overſtepping all bounds of moderation or propriety, in hopes of preſerving its influence after it had rendered itſelf impotent by an unguarded ſtroke. Deſpréſmenil was the firſt martyr of that Liberty

and Equality which it was now boldly preaching, having voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner to the officer ſent to demand him from the Parliament. He was alſo a martyr to any thing that remained of the very ſhadow of liberty after the Revolution, being guillotined by Robeſpierre.

I have already mentioned the intrigues of Count Mirabeau at the Court of Berlin, and his ſeditious preface and notes on the anonymous letters on the Rights of the Pruſſian States. He alſo, while at Berlin, publiſhed an *Eſſai ſur la Secte des Illuminés*, one of the ſtrangeſt and moſt impudent performances that ever appeared. He there deſcribes a ſect exiſting in Germany, called the *Illuminated*, and ſays, that they are the moſt abſurd and groſs fanatics imaginable, waging war with every appearance of Reaſon, and maintaining the moſt ridiculous ſuperſtitions. He gives ſome account of theſe, and of their rituals, ceremonies, &c. as if he had ſeen them all. His ſect is a confuſed mixture of Chriſtian ſuperſtitions, Roſycrucian nonſenſe, and every thing that can raiſe contempt and hatred. But no ſuch Society ever exiſted, and Mirabeau confided in his own powers of deception, in order to ſcreen from obſervation thoſe who were known to be Illuminati, and to hinder the rulers from attending to their real machinations, by means of this

Ignis

Ignis fatuus of his own brain. He knew perfectly that the Illuminati were of a ſtamp diametrically oppoſite; for he was illuminated by Mauvillon long before.—He gained his point in ſome meaſure, for Nicholai and others of the junto immediately adopted the whim, and called them *Obſcuranten*, and joined with Mirabeau in placing on the liſt of *Obſcuranten* ſeveral perſons whom they wiſhed to make ridiculous.

Mirabeau was not more diſcontented with the Court of Berlin for the ſmall regard it had teſtified for his eminent talents, than he was with his own Court, or rather with the miniſter Calonne, who had ſent him thither. Calonne had been greatly diſſatisfied with his conduct at Berlin, where his ſelf-conceit, and his private projects, had made him act in a way almoſt contrary to the purpoſes of his miſſion. Mirabeau was therefore in a rage at the miniſter, and publiſhed a pamphlet, in which his celebrated memorial on the ſtate of the nation, and the means of relieving it, was treated with the utmoſt ſeverity of reproach; and in this conteſt his mind was wrought up to that violent pitch of oppoſition which he ever after maintained. To be noticed, and to lead, were his ſole objects—and he found that taking the ſide of the diſcontented was the beſt field for his eloquence and reſtleſs ambition.—Yet there was no man that was more

devoted to the principles of a court than Count Mirabeau, provided he had a ſhare in the adminiſtration; and he would have obtained it, if any thing moderate would have ſatisfied him —but he thought nothing worthy of him but a place of active truſt, and a high department. For ſuch offices all knew him to be totally unfit. He wanted knowledge of great things, and was learned only in the buſtling detail of intrigue, and at any time would ſacrifice every thing to have an opportunity of exerciſing his brilliant eloquence, and indulging his paſſion for ſatire and reproach.——The greateſt obſtacle to his advancement was the abject worthleſſneſs of his character. What we uſually call profligacy, viz. debauchery, gaming, impiety, and every kind of ſenſuality, were not enough—he was deſtitute of decency in his vices—tricks which would diſgrace a thief-catcher, were never boggled at in order to ſupply his expences.—For inſtance—His father and mother had a proceſs of ſeparation—Mirabeau had juſt been liberated from priſon for a groſs miſdemeanour, and was in want of money—He went to his father, ſided with him in invectives againſt his mother, and, for 100 guineas, wrote his father's memorial for the court.—He then went to his mother, and by a ſimilar conduct got the ſame ſum from her, —and both memorials were preſented. Drinking

ing was the only vice in which he did not indulge—his exhauſted conſtitution did not permit it. His brother the Viſcount, on the contrary, was apt to exceed in jollity. One day the Count ſaid to him, "How can you, Brother, ſo "expoſe yourſelf?"—"What!" ſays the Viſcount, "how inſatiable you are—Nature has given you "every vice, and having left me only this one, "you grudge it me."—When the elections were making for the States-General, he offered himſelf a candidate in his own order at Aix—But he was ſo abhorred by the Nobleſſe, that they not only rejected him, but even drove him from their meetings. This affront ſettled his meaſures, and he determined on their ruin. He went to the Commons, diſclaimed his being a gentleman, ſat up a little ſhop in the market-place of Aix, and ſold trifles—and now, fully reſolved what line he ſhould purſue, he courted the Commons, by joining in all their exceſſes againſt the Nobleſſe, and was at laſt returned a member of the Aſſembly.

From this account of Mirabeau we can eaſily foretel the uſe he would make of the Illumination which he had received in Germany. Its grand truths and juſt morality ſeem to have had the ſame effects on his mind as on that of Weiſhaupt or Bahrdt.

In the year 1786, Mirabeau, in conjunction with the Duke de Lauzun and the Abbé Perigord,

afterwards Biſhop of Autun, (the man ſo puffed in the National Aſſemblies as the brighteſt pattern of humanity,) reformed a Lodge of Philalethes in Paris, which met in the Jacobin College or Convent. It was one of the *Amis Reunis*, which had now rid itſelf of all the inſignificant myſticiſm of the ſect. This was now become troubleſome, and took up the time which would be much better employed by the *Chevaliers du Soliel*, and other ſtill more refined champions of reaſon and univerſal citizenſhip. Mirabeau had imparted to it ſome of that Illumination which had beamed upon him when he was in Berlin. In 1788 he and the Abbé were Wardens of the Lodge. They found that they had not acquired all the dexterity of management that he underſtood was practiſed by his Brethren in Germany, for keeping up their connection, and conducting their correſpondence. A letter was therefore ſent from this Lodge, ſigned by theſe two gentlemen, to the Brethren in Germany, requeſting their aſſiſtance and inſtruction. In the courſe of this year, and during the ſitting of the Notables, A DEPUTATION WAS SENT from the German Illuminati to catch this glorious opportunity of carrying their plan into full execution with the greateſt eclat.

Nothing can more convincingly demonſtrate the early intentions of a party, and this a great party, in France to overturn the conſtitution completely,

pletely, and plant a democracy or oligarchy on its ruins. The Illuminati had no other object. They accounted all Princes uſurpers and tyrants, and all privileged orders as their abettors. They intended to eſtabliſh a government of Morality, as they called it, (*Sittenregiment,*) where talents and character (to be eſtimated by their own ſcale, and by themſelves) ſhould alone lead to preferment. They meant to aboliſh the laws which protected property accumulated by long continued and ſucceſsful induſtry, and to prevent for the future any ſuch accumulation. They intended to eſtabliſh univerſal Liberty and Equality, the impreſcriptible Rights of Man, (at leaſt they pretended all this to thoſe who were neither Magi nor Regentes). And, as neceſſary preparations for all this, they intended to root out all religion and ordinary morality, and even to break the bonds of domeſtic life, by deſtroying the veneration for marriage-vows, and by taking the education of children out of the hands of the parents. *This was all that the Illuminati could teach,* and THIS WAS PRECISELY WHAT FRANCE HAS DONE.

I cannot proceed in the narration without defiling the page with the deteſted name of *Orleans*, ſtained with every thing that can degrade or diſgrace human nature. He only wanted Illumination, to ſhew him in a ſyſtem all the opinions, diſ-

poſitions, and principles which filled his own wicked heart. This contemptible being was illuminated by Mirabeau, and has ſhown himſelf the moſt zealous diſciple of the Order. In his oath of allegiance he declares, "That the intereſts and "the object of the Order ſhall be rated by him "above all other relations, and that he will ſerve "it with his honour, his fortune, and his blood." —He has kept his word, and has ſacrificed them all—And he has been treated in the true ſpirit of the Order—uſed as a mere tool, cheated and ruined.—For I muſt now add, that the French borrowed from the Illuminati a maxim, unheard of in any other aſſociation of banditti, viz. that of cheating each other. As the managers had the ſole poſſeſſion of the higher myſteries, and led the reſt by principles which they held to be falſe, and which they employed only for the purpoſe of ſecuring the co-operation of the inferior Brethren, ſo Mirabeau, Sieyes, Pethion, aud others, led the Duke of Orleans at firſt by his wicked ambition, and the expectation of obtaining that crown which they intended to break in pieces, that they might get the uſe of his immenſe fortune, and of his influence on the thouſands of his depending ſycophants, who ate his bread and pandered to his groſs appetites. Although we very ſoon find him acting as an *Illuminatus*, we cannot ſuppoſe him ſo loſt to common ſenſe as to contribute his fortune, and riſk

riſk his life, merely in order that the one ſhould be afterwards taken from him by law, and the other put on a level with that of his groom or his pimp. He ſurely hoped to obtain the crown of his indolent relation. And indeed Mirabeau ſaid to Bergaſſe, that "when the project was mentioned to "the Duke of Orleans, he received it with all "poſſible graciouſneſs," (*avec toute la grace imaginable*). During the conteſts between the Court and the Parliament of Paris, he courted popularity with an indecency and folly that nothing can explain but a mad and fiery ambition which blinded his eyes to all conſequences. This is put out of doubt by his behaviour at Verſailles on the dreadful 5th and 6th of October 1789. The depoſitions at the Chatelet prove in the moſt inconteſtible manner, that during the horrors of thoſe two days he was repeatedly ſeen, and that whenever he was recogniſed by the croud, he was huzzaed with *Vive Orleans*, *Vive notre Roi Orleans*, &c. —He then withdrew, and was ſeen in other places. While all about the unfortunate Royal Family were in the utmoſt concern for their fate, he was in gay humour, chatting on indifferent ſubjects. His laſt appearance in the evening of the 5th was, about nine o'clock, converſing in a corner with men diſguiſed in mean dreſs, and ſome in womens clothes; among whom were Mirabeau, Barnave, Duport, and other deputies of the Republican

publican party—and these men were seen immediately after, concealed among the lines of the *Regiment de Flandre*, the corruption of which they had that day completed. He was seen again next morning conversing with the same persons in womens dress. And when the insulted Sovereign was dragged in triumph to Paris, Orleans was again seen, skulking in a balcony behind his children, to view the procession of devils and furies; anxiously hoping all the while that some disturbance would arise in which the King might perish. —I should have added that he was seen in the morning at the top of the stairs, pointing the way with his hand to the mob, where they should go, while he went by another road to the King. In short he went about trembling like a coward, waiting for the explosion which might render it safe for him to shew himself. Mirabeau said of him, "The fellow carries a loaded pistol in his bosom, "but will never dare to pull the trigger." He was saved, notwithstanding his own folly, by being joined in the accusation with Mirabeau, who could not rescue himself without striving also for Orleans, whom he despised, while he made use of his fortune.—In short, Orleans was but half illuminated at this time, and hoped to be King or Regent.

Yet he was deeply versed in the preparatory lessons of Illuminatism, and well convinced of its fundamental truths. He was well assured of the great

great influence of the women in ſociety, and he employed this influence like a true diſciple of Weiſhaupt. Above three hundred nymphs from the purlieus of the Palais Royal were provided with ecus and Louis d'ors, by his grand procureur the Abbé Sieyes, and were ſent to meet and to illuminate the two battalions of the *Regiment de Flandre*, who were coming to Verſailles for the protection of the Royal Family. The privates of one of theſe regiments came and informed their officers of this attempt made on their loyalty.—45,000l. livres were given them at St. Denys, to make them diſband themſelves—and the poor lads were at firſt dazzled by the name of a ſum that was not familiar to them—but when ſome thinking head among them told them that it only amounted to two Louis d'ors a piece, they diſcloſed the bribery. They were then offered 90,000, but never ſaw it. (Depoſitions at the Chatelet, N° 317.) Mademoiſelle Therouane, the *favorita* of the day at the Palais Royal, was the moſt active perſon of the armed mob from Paris, dreſſed *en Amazonne*, with all the elegance of the opera, and turned many young heads that day which were afterwards taken off by the guillotine. The Duke of Orleans acknowledged, before his death, that he had expended above 50,000l. ſterling in corrupting the *Gardes Françoiſes*. The armed mob which came from Paris to Verſailles on the 5th of October,

ber, importuning the King for bread, had their pockets filled with crown-pieces; and Orleans was ſeen on that day by two gentlemen, with a bag of money ſo heavy that it was faſtened to his clothes with a ſtrap, to hinder it from being oppreſſive, and to keep it in ſuch a poſition that it ſhould be acceſſible in an inſtant. (See the Depoſitions at the Chatelet, N° 177.)

But ſuch was the contempt into which his groſs profligacy, his cowardice, and his niggardly diſpoſition, had brought him with all parties, that, if he had not been quite blinded by his wicked ambition, and by his implacable reſentment of ſome bitter taunts he had gotten from the King and Queen, he muſt have ſeen very early that he was to be ſacrificed as ſoon as he had ſerved the purpoſes of the faction. At preſent, his aſſiſtance was of the utmoſt conſequence. His immenſe fortune, much above three millions ſterling, was almoſt exhauſted during the three firſt years of the Revolution. But (what was of more conſequence) he had almoſt unbounded authority among the Free Maſons.

In this country we have no conception of the authority of a National Grand Maſter. When Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, by great exertions among the jarring ſects in Germany, had got himſelf elected Grand Maſter of the *Strict Obſervanz*, it gave ſerious alarm to the Emperor, and

and to all the Princes of Germany, and contributed greatly to their connivance at the attempts of the *Illuminati* to discredit that party. In the great cities of Germany, the inhabitants paid more respect to the Grand Master of the Masons than to their respective Princes. The authority of the D. of Orleans in France was still greater, in consequence of his employing his fortune to support it. About eight years before the Revolution he had (not without much intrigue and many bribes and promises) been elected Grand Master of France, having under his directions all the *Improved* Lodges. The whole Association was called the *Grand Orient de la France*, and in 1785 contained 266 of these Lodges; (see *Freymaurerische Zeitung*, *Neuwied* 1787.) Thus he had the management of all those Secret Societies; and the licentious and irreligious sentiments which were currently preached there, were sure of his hearty concurrence. The same intrigue which procured him the supreme chair, must have filled the Lodges with his dependents and emissaries, and these men could not better earn their pay, than by doing their utmost to propagate infidelity, immorality, and impurity of manners.

But something more was wanted: Disrespect for the higher Orders of the State, and disloyalty to the Sovereign.—It is not so easy to conceive how

how these sentiments, and particularly the latter, could meet with toleration, and even encouragement, in a nation noted for its professions of veneration for its Monarch, and for the pride of its Nobleſſe. Yet I am certain that such doctrines were habitually preached in the Lodges of *Philalethes*, and *Amis Reunis de la Verité*. That they should be very current in Lodges of low-born Literati, and other Brethren in inferior stations, is natural, and I have already said enough on this head. But the French Lodges contained many gentlemen in easy, in affluent circumstances. I do not expect such confidence in my assertions, that even in these the same opinions were very prevalent. I was therefore much pleased with a piece of information which I got while these sheets were printing off, which corroborates my assertions.

This is a performance called *La voile retirée, ou le Secret de la Revolution expliqué par la Franc Maçonnerie*. It was written by a Mr. Lefranc, President of the Seminary of the *Eudists* at Caen in Normandy, and a second edition was published at Paris in 1792. The author was butchered in the massacre of September. He says, that on the death of a friend, who had been a very zealous Mason, and many years Master of a respectable Lodge, he found among his papers a collection of Masonic writings, containing the rituals,

catechiſms, and ſymbols of every kind, belonging to a long train of degrees of Free Maſonry, together with many diſcourſes delivered in different Lodges, and minutes of their proceedings. The peruſal filled him with aſtoniſhment and anxiety. For he found that doctrines were taught, and maxims of conduct were inculcated, which were ſubverſive of religion and of all good order in the ſtate; and which not only countenanced diſloyalty and ſedition, but even invited to it. He thought them ſo dangerous to the ſtate, that he ſent an account of them to the Archbiſhop of Paris long before the Revolution, and always hoped that that Reverend Prelate would repreſent the matter to his Majeſty's Miniſters, and that they would put an end to the meetings of this dangerous Society, or would at leaſt reſtrain them from ſuch exceſſes. But he was diſappointed, and therefore thought it his duty to lay them before the public *.

Mr.

* Had the good man been ſpared but a few months, his ſurpriſe at this neglect would have ceaſed. For, on the 19th of November 1793, the Archbiſhop of Paris came to the Bar of the Aſſembly, accompanied by his Vicar and eleven other Clergymen, who there renounced their Chriſtianity and their clerical vows; acknowledging that they had played the villain for many years againſt their conſciences, teaching what they knew to be a lie, and

Mr. Lefranc ſays expreſsly, that this ſhocking perverſion of Free Maſonry to ſeditious purpoſes was, in a great meaſure, but a late thing, and was chiefly brought about by the agents of the Grand Maſter, the Duke of Orleans. He was, however, of opinion that the whole Maſonic Fraternity was hoſtile to Chriſtianity and to good morals, and that it was the contrivance of the great ſchiſmatic Fauſtus Socinus, who, being terrified by the fate of Servetus at Geneva, fell on this method of promulgating his doctrines among the great in ſecret. This opinion is but ill ſupported, and is incompatible with many circumſtances in Free Maſonry—But it is out of our way at preſent. Mr. Lefranc then takes particular notice of the many degrees of Chivalry cultivated in the Lodges, and ſhows how, by artful changes in the ſucceſſive explanations of the ſame ſymbols, the doctrines of Chriſtianity, and of all revealed Religion, are completely exploded, and the *Philoſophe Inconnu* becomes at laſt a profeſſed Atheiſt.—He then takes notice

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and were now reſolved to be honeſt men. The Vicar indeed had behaved like a true *Illuminatus* ſome time before, by running off with another man's wife and his ſtrong box.—None of them, however, ſeem to have attained the higher myſteries, for they were all guillotined not long after.

of

of the political doctrines which are in like manner gradually unfolded, by which "patriotism "and loyalty to the Prince are declared to be "narrow principles, inconsistent with universal "benevolence, and with the native and impre- "scriptible rights of man; civil subordination is "actual oppression, and Princes are *ex officio* "usurpers and tyrants." These principles he fairly deduces from the Catechisms of the *Chevalier du Soleil*, and of the *Philosophe Inconnu*. He then proceeds to notice more particularly the intrigues of the Duke of Orleans. From these it appears evident that his ambitious views and hopes had been of long standing, and that it was entirely by his support and encouragement that seditious doctrines were permitted in the Lodges. Many noblemen and gentlemen were disgusted and left these Lodges, and advantage was taken of their absence to *improve* the Lodges still more, that is, to make them still more anarchical and seditious. Numbers of paltry scribblers who haunted the Palace Royal, were admitted into the Lodges, and there vented their poisonous doctrines. The Duke turned his chief attention to the French guards, introducing many of the privates and inferior officers into the obsure and even the more respectable Lodges, so that the officers were frequently disgusted in the Lodges by the insolent behaviour of their own soldiers, under

the mask of Masonic Brotherhood and Equality —and this behaviour became not unfrequent even out of doors. He asserts with great confidence that the troops were much corrupted by these intrigues—and that when they sometimes declared, on service, that they would not fire *on their Brethren*, the phrase had a particular reference to their Masonic Fraternity, because they recognised many of their Brother Masons in every crowd.—And the corruption was by no means confined to Paris and its neighbourhood, but extended to every place in the kingdom where there was a Municipality and a Mason Lodge.

Mr. Lefranc then turns our attention to many peculiarities in the Revolution, which have a resemblance to the practices in Free Masonry. Not only was the arch rebel the Duke of Orleans the Grand Master, but the chief actors in the Revolution, Mirabeau, Condorcet, Rochefoucault, and others, were distinguished office-bearers in the great Lodges. He says that the distribution of France into departments, districts, circles, cantons, &c. is perfectly similar, with the same denominations, to a distribution which he had remarked in the correspondence of the Grand Orient *.—The

* I cannot help observing, that it is perfectly similar to the arrangement and denominations which appear in the secret correspondence of the Bavarian Illuminati.

President's

Preſident's hat in the National Aſſembly is copied from that of a *Tres Venerable Grand Maitre*.—The ſcarf of a Municipal Officer is the ſame with that of a Brother Apprentice.—When the Aſſembly celebrated the Revolution in the Cathedral, they accepted of the higheſt honours of Maſonry by paſſing under the *Arch of Steel*, formed by the drawn ſwords of two ranks of Brethren.—Alſo it is worthy of remark, that the National Aſſembly protected the meetings of Free Maſons, while it peremptorily prohibited every other private meeting. The obligation of laying aſide all ſtars, ribbands, croſſes, and other honourable diſtinctions under the pretext of Fraternal Equality, was not merely a prelude, but was intended as a preparation for the deſtruction of all civil diſtinctions, which took place almoſt at the beginning of the Revolution,—*and the firſt propoſal of a ſurrender*, ſays Mr. Lefranc, *was made by a zealous Maſon*.—He farther obſerves, that the horrible and ſanguinary oaths, the daggers, death-heads, croſs-bones, the imaginary combats with the murderers of Hiram, and many other gloomy ceremonies, have a natural tendency to harden the heart, to remove its natural diſguſt at deeds of horror, and have paved the way for thoſe ſhocking barbarities which have made the name of Frenchman abhorred over all Europe. Theſe deeds were indeed perpetrated by a mob of fanatics; but the

principles were promulgated and foſtered by perſons who ſtyle themſelves philoſophers.

I ſee more evidence of theſe important facts in another book juſt publiſhed by an emigrant gentleman (Mr. Latocnaye). He confirms my repeated aſſertions, that all the irreligious and ſeditious doctrines were the ſubjects of perpetual harangues in the Maſon Lodges, and that all the principles of the Revolution, by which the public mind was as it were ſet on fire, were nothing but enthuſiaſtic amplifications of the common-place cant of Free Maſonry, and aroſe naturally out of it. He even thinks "that this "*muſt of neceſſity* be the caſe in every country "where the minds of the lower claſſes of the "State are in any way conſiderably fretted "or irritated; it is almoſt impoſſible to avoid "being drawn into this vortex, whenever a "diſcontented mind enters into a Maſon Lodge. "The ſtale ſtory of brotherly love, which at "another time would only lull the hearer aſleep, "now makes him prick up his ears, and liſten "with avidity to the ſilly tale, and he cannot "hinder fretting thoughts from continually "rankling in his mind."

Mr. Latocnaye ſays expreſsly, "That notwithſtanding the general contempt of the public for "the Duke of Orleans, his authority as Grand "Maſter of the Maſons gave him the greateſt

"opportunity

" opportunity that a ſeditious mind could deſire " for helping forward the Revolution. He had " ready to his hand a connected ſyſtem of hid- " den Societies, protected by the State, habitu- " ated to ſecrecy and artifice, and already tinged " with the very enthuſiaſm which he wiſhed to " inſpire. In theſe he formed political commit- " tees, into which only his agents were admit- " ted. He filled the Lodges with the French " guards, whom he corrupted with money and " hopes of preferment; and by means of the " Abbé Sieyes, and other emiſſaries, they were " harangued with all the ſophiſtical declamation " or cant of Maſonry."

Mr. Latocnaye ſays, that all this was peculiar to the Lodges of the Grand Orient; but that there were many (not very many, if we judge by the Neuwied almanac, which reckons only 289 in all France in 1784, of which 266 were of the Grand Orient) Lodges who continued on the old plan of amuſing themſelves with a little ſolemn trifling. He coincides with Mr. Lefranc in the opinion that the awful and gloomy rituals of Maſonry, and particularly the ſevere trials of confidence and ſubmiſſion, muſt have a great tendency to harden the heart, and fit a man for atrocious actions. No one can doubt of this who reads the following inſtance:

" A candidate for reception into one of the " higheſt Orders, after having heard many threat-

" enings denounced againſt all who ſhould " betray the Secrets of the Order, was con- " ducted to a place where he ſaw the dead bo- " dies of ſeveral who were ſaid to have ſuffered " for their treachery. He then ſaw his own " brother tied hand and foot, begging his " mercy and interceſſion. He was informed " that this perſon was about to ſuffer the " puniſhment due to this offence, and that it " was reſerved for him (the candidate) to be " the inſtrument of this juſt vengeance, and " that this gave him an opportunity of mani- " feſting that he was completely devoted to the " Order. It being obſerved that his counte- " nance gave ſigns of inward horror, (the per- " ſon in bonds imploring his mercy all the while,) " he was told, that in order to ſpare his feelings, " a bandage ſhould be put over his eyes. A dag- " ger was then put into his right hand, and be- " ing hood-winked, his left hand was laid on the " palpitating heart of the criminal, and he was " then ordered to ſtrike. He inſtantly obeyed; " and when the bandage was taken from his eyes, " he ſaw that it was a lamb that he had ſtabbed. " Surely ſuch trials and ſuch wanton cruelty are " fit only for training conſpirators."

Mr. Latocnaye adds, that " when he had been " initiated, an old gentleman aſked him what " he thought of the whole? He anſwered, " A " great

" great deal of noiſe, and much nonſenſe." "Non-
" ſenſe," ſaid the other, " don't judge ſo raſhly,
" young man; I have worked theſe twenty-five
" years, and the farther I advanced, it intereſted
" me the more; but I ſtopped ſhort, and nothing
" ſhall prevail on me to advance a ſtep farther.'
In another converſation the gentleman ſaid, " I
" imagine that my ſtoppage was owing to my
" refuſal about nine years ago, to liſten to ſome
" perſons who made to me, out of the Lodge,
" propoſals which were ſeditious and horrible;
" for ever ſince that time I have remarked, that
" my higher Brethren treat me with a much
" greater reſerve than they had done before;
" and that, under the pretext of further inſtruc-
" tion, they have laboured to confute the no-
" tions which I had already acquired, by giving
" ſome of the moſt delicate ſubjects a different
" turn. I ſaw that they wanted to remove ſome
" ſuſpicions which I was beginning to form con-
" cerning the ultimate ſcope of the whole."

I imagine that theſe obſervations will leave no doubt in the mind of the reader with reſpect to the influence of the ſecret Fraternity of Free Maſonry in the French Revolution, and that he will allow it to be highly probable that the infamous Duke of Orleans had, from the beginning, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of France.

It is not my province to prove or disprove this point, only I think it no less evident, from many circumstances in the transactions of those tumultuous days, that the active leaders had quite different views, and were impelled by fanatical notions of democratic felicity, or, more probably, by their own ambition to be the movers of this vast machine, to overturn the ancient government, and erect a republic, of which they hoped to be the managers *. Mirabeau had learned when in Germany that the principles of anarchy had been well digested into a system, and therefore wished for some instruction as to the subordinate detail of the business, and for this purpose requested a deputation from the *Illuminati*.

* The depositions at the Chatelet, which I have already quoted, give repeated and unequivocal proofs, that he, with a considerable number of the deputies of the National Assembly, had formed this plot before the 5th of October 1789. That trial was conducted in a strange manner, partly out of respect for the Royal Family, which still had some hearts affectionately attached to it, and to the monarchy, and partly by reason of the fears of the members of this court. There was now no safety for any person who differed from the opinion of the frantic populace of Paris. The chief points of accusation were written in a schedule which is not published, and the witnesses were ordered to depose on these in one general Yes or No; so that it is only the least important part of the evidence that has been printed. I am well informed that the whole of it is carefully preserved, and will one day appear.

In

In ſuch a cauſe as this, we may be certain that no ordinary perſon would be ſent. One of the deputies was Amelius, the next perſon in the order to Spartacus and Philo. His worldly name was Johann. J. C. Bode, at Weimar, privy-counſellor to the Prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt. (See *Fragmente der Biographie des verſtorbenes Freyherr Bode in Weimar, mit zuverlaſſigen Urkunder*, 8*vo. Riom.* 1795. See alſo *Endliche Shickfall der Freymaurercy*, 1794; alſo *Wiener Zeitſchrift fur* 1793.)—This perſon has played a principal part in the whole ſcheme of Illumination. He was a perſon of conſiderable and ſhowy talents as a writer. He had great talents for converſation, and had kept good company. With reſpect to his myſtical character, his experience was great. He was one of the Templar Maſons, and among them was *Eques à Liliis Convallium.* He had ſpeculated much about the origin and hiſtory of Maſonry, and when at the Willemſbad convention, was converted to Illuminatiſm. He was the great inſtigator of Nicholai, Gedicke, and Bieſter, to the hunt after Jeſuits which ſo much occupied them, and ſuggeſted to Nicholai his journey through Germany. Leuchtſenring, whom I mentioned before, was only the letter-carrier between Bode and theſe three authors. He was juſt ſuch a man as Weiſhaupt wiſhed for; his head filled with Maſonic fanaticiſm,

fanaticiſm, attaching infinite importance to the frivolities of Maſonry, and engaged in an enthuſiaſtic and fruitleſs reſearch after its origin and hiſtory. He had collected, however, ſuch a number of archives (as they were called) of Free Maſonry, that he ſold his manuſcript to the Duke of Saxe Gotha, (into whoſe ſervice Weiſhaupt engaged himſelf when he was driven from Bavaria), for 1500 dahlers. This little anecdote ſhows the high importance attributed to thoſe matters by perſons of whom we ſhould expect better things. Bode was alſo a moſt determined and violent materialiſt. Beſides all theſe qualities, ſo acceptable to the Illuminati, he was a diſcontented Templar Maſon, having been repeatedly diſappointed of the preferment which he thought himſelf entitled to. When he learned that the firſt operations of the Illuminati were to be the obtaining the ſole direction of the Maſon Lodges, and of the whole Fraternity, his hopes revived of riſing to ſome of the Commanderies, which his enthuſiaſm, or rather fanaticiſm, had made him hope to ſee one day regained by the Order:—but when he found that the next and favourite object was to root out the *Strict Obſervanz* altogether, he ſtarted back. But Philo ſaw that the underſtanding (ſhall we call it?) that can be dazzled with one whim, may be dazzled with another, and he now attached him to Illuminatiſm,

minatiſm, by a magnificent diſplay of a world ruled by the Order, and conducted to happineſs by means of Liberty and Equality. This did the buſineſs, as we ſee by the private correſpondence, where Philo informs Spartacus of his firſt difficulties with Amelius. Amelius was gained over in Auguſt 1782, and we ſee by the ſame correſpondence, that the greateſt affairs were ſoon entruſted to him—he was generally employed to deal with the great. When a Graf or a Baron was to be wheedled into the Order, Amelius was the agent.—He was alſo the chief operator in all their conteſts with the Jeſuits and the Roſycrucians. It was alſo Bode that procured the important acceſſion of Nicholai to the Order. This he brought about through Leuchtſenring; and laſtly, his numerous connections among the Free Maſons, together with Knigge's influence among them, enabled the Illuminati to worm themſelves into every Lodge, and at laſt gave them almoſt the entire command of the Fraternity.

Such was the firſt of the deputies to France. The other was a Mr. Buſſche, called in the Order Bayard; therefore probably a man of reſpectable character; for moſt of Spartacus's names were ſignificant like his own. He was a military man, Lieutenant-Colonel in the ſervice of Heſſe-Darmſtadt. This man alſo was a diſcontented Templar Maſon, and his name in that Fraternity had

had been *Eques a Fontibus Eremi.* He was illuminated by Knigge. He had alſo been unſucceſsful both at court and in the field, in both of which ſituations he had been attempting to make a diſtinguiſhed figure. He, as well as Bode, were immerſed in debts. They were therefore juſt in the proper temper for Coſmo-political enterpriſe.

They went to Paris in the end of 1788, while the Notables were ſitting, and all Paris was giving advice. The alarm that was raiſed about Animal Magnetiſm, which was indeed making much noiſe at that time, and particularly in Paris, was aſſigned by them as the great motive of the journey. Bode alſo ſaid that he was anxious to learn what were the corrections made on the ſyſtem of the *Chevaliers Bienfaiſants.* They had taken that name at firſt, to ſcreen themſelves from the charges againſt them under the name of Templars. They had corrected ſomething in their ſyſtem when they took the name *Philalethes.* And now when the Schiſms of the *Philalethes* were healed, and the Brethren again united under the name of *Amis Reunis*, he ſuſpected that Jeſuits had interfered; and becauſe he had heard that the principles of the *Amis Reunis* were very noble, he wiſhed to be more certain that they were purged of every thing Jeſuitical.

The

The deputies accordingly arrived at Paris, and immediately obtained admiſſion into theſe two Fraternities *. They found both of them in the ripeſt ſtate for Illumination, having ſhaken of all the cabaliſtical, chemical, and myſtical whims that had formerly diſturbed them, and would now take up too much of their time. They were now cultivating with great zeal the philoſophico-political doctrines of univerſal citizenſhip. Their leaders, to the number of twenty, are mentioned by name in the Berlin Monatſchrift for 1785, and among them are ſeveral of the firſt actors in the French Revolution. But this is nothing diſtinctive, becauſe perſons of all opinions were Maſons.

* To prevent interruptions, I may juſt mention here the authorities for this journey and co-operation of the two deputies.

1. *Ein wichtiger Aufſchluſs über ein noch wenig bekannte Veranlaſſung der Franzöſchen Revolution*, in the Vienna Zeitſchrift for 1793, p. 145.

2. *Endliche Shickſall des Freymaurer-Ordens*, 1794, p. 19.

3. *Neuęſte Arbeitung des Spartacus und Philo*, *Munich*, 1793. p. 151 154.

4. *Hiſtoriſche Nachrichten über die Franc Revolution* 1792, *von Girtanner*, *var. loc.*

5. *Revolutions Almanach für* 1792—4, *Gottingen*, *var. loc.*

6. *Beytrage zur Biographie des verſtorbencs Frey-Herr v. Bode*, 1794.

7. *Magazin des Literatur et Kunſt*, for 1792, 3, 4, &c. &c.

The *Amis Reunis* were little behind the Illuminati in every thing that was irreligious and anarchical, and had no inclination for any of the formalities of ritual, &c. They were already fit for the higher myſteries, and only wanted to learn the methods of buſineſs which had ſucceeded ſo well in ſpreading their doctrines and maxims over Germany. Beſides, their doctrines had not been digeſted into a ſyſtem, nor had the artful methods of leading on the pupils from bad to worſe been practiſed. For hitherto, each individual had vented in the Lodges his own opinions, to unburden his own mind, and the Brethren liſtened for inſtruction and mutual encouragement. Therefore, when Spartacus's plan was communicated to them, they ſaw at once its importance, in all its branches, ſuch as the uſe of the Maſon Lodges, to fiſh for Minervals—the rituals and ranks to entice the young, and to lead them by degrees to opinions and meaſures which, at firſt ſight, would have ſhocked them. The firm hold which is gotten of the pupils, and indeed of all the inferior claſſes, by their reports in the courſe of their pretended training in the knowledge of themſelves and of other men—and, above all, the provincial arrangement of the Order, and the clever ſubordination and entire dependence on a ſelect band or Pandæmonium at Paris, which ſhould inſpire and direct the whole.—I think, (although

(although I have not expreſs aſſertions of the fact,) from the ſubſequent conduct of the French revolters, that even at this early period, there were many in thoſe ſocieties who were ready to go every length propoſed to them by the Illuminati, ſuch as the abolition of royalty, and of all privileged orders, as tyrants by nature, the annihilation and robbery of the prieſthood, the rooting out of Chriſtianity, and the introduction of Atheiſm, or a philoſophical chimera which they were to call Religion. Mirabeau had often ſpoken of the laſt branch of the Illuminated principles, and the converſations held at Verſailles during the awful pauſes of the 5th of October, (which are to be ſeen in the evidence before the Chatelet in the Orleans proceſs,) can hardly be ſuppoſed to be the fancies of an accidental mob.

Mirabeau was, as I have ſaid, at the head of this democratic party, and had repeatedly ſaid, that the only uſe of a King was to ſerve as a pageant, in order to give weight to public meaſures in the opinion of the populace.—And Mr. Latocnaye ſays, that this party was very numerous, and that immediately after the imprudent or madlike invitation of every ſcribbler in a garret to give his advice, the party did not ſcruple to ſpeak their ſentiments in public, and that they were encouraged in their encomiums on the advantages

vantages of a virtuous republican government by Mr. Necker, who had a moſt extravagant and childiſh predilection for the conſtitution of Geneva, the place of his nativity, and was alſo much tinged with the Coſmo-political philoſophy of the times. The King's brothers, and the Princes of the blood, preſented a memorial to his Majeſty, which concluded by ſaying, that "the effervescence of the public opinions had "come to ſuch a height that the moſt dangerous "principles, imported from foreign parts, were "avowed in print with perfect impunity—that "his Majeſty had unwarily encouraged every "fanatic to dictate to him, and to ſpread his "poiſonous ſentiments, in which the rights of "the throne were not only diſreſpected, but "were even diſputed—that the rights of the "higher claſſes in the ſtate ran a great riſk of "being ſpeedily ſuppreſſed, and that nothing "would hinder the ſacred right of property from "being ere long invaded, and the unequal diſ-"tribution of wealth from being thought a pro-"per ſubject of reform."

When ſuch was the ſtate of things in Paris, it is plain that the buſineſs of the German deputies would be eaſily tranſacted. They were received with open arms by the *Philalethes*, the *Amis de la Verité*, the *Social Contract*, &c. and in the courſe of a very few weeks in the end of 1788, and

and the beginning of 1789, (that is, before the end of March,) the whole of the Grand Orient, including the *Philalethes*, *Amis Reunis*, *Martiniſtes*, &c. had the ſecrets of Illumination communicated to them. The operation naturally began with the Great National Lodge of Paris, and thoſe in immediate dependence on it. It would alſo ſeem, from many circumſtances that occurred to my obſervation, that the Lodges in Alſace and Lorraine were illuminated at this time, and not long before, as I had imagined. Straſburg I know had been illuminated long ago, while Philo was in the Order. A circumſtance ſtrikes me here as of ſome moment. The ſects of *Philalethes* and *Amis Reunis* were refinements engrafted on the ſyſtem of the *Chevaliers Bienfaiſants* at Lyons. Such refinements never fail to be conſidered as a ſort of hereſy, and the profeſſors will be beheld with a jealous and unfriendly eye by ſome, who will pride themſelves on adhering to the old faith. And the greater the ſucceſs of the hereſy, the greater will be the animoſity between the parties.—May not this help to explain the mutual hatred of the Pariſians and the Lyonnois, which produced the moſt dreadful atrocities ever perpetrated on the face of the earth, and made a ſhambles and a deſert of the fineſt city of France?

The firſt proceeding by the advice of the deputies was the formation of a Political Committee in every Lodge. This committee correſponded with the diſtant Lodges, and in it were diſcuſſed and ſettled all the political principles which were to be inculcated on the members. The author of the *Neueſte Arbeitung* ſays expreſsly, that "he "was thoroughly inſtructed in this, that it was "given in charge to theſe committees to frame "general rules, and to carry through the great "plan *(grand œuvre)* of a general overturning "of religion and government." The principal leaders of the ſubſequent Revolution were members of theſe committees. Here were the plans laid, and they were tranſmitted through the kingdom by the Correſponding Committees.

Thus were the ſtupid Bavarians (as the French were once pleaſed to call them) their inſtructors in the art of overturning the world. The French were indeed the firſt who put it in practice. Theſe committees aroſe from the Illuminati in Bavaria, who had by no means given over working; and theſe committees produced the Jacobin Club. It is not a frivolous remark, that the Maſonic phraſe of the perſons who wiſh to addreſs the Brethren, "*(F. S. je demande la parole*, which the F. S. re-"ports to the V. G. M. and which he announces "to the Brethren thus, "*Mes freres, frere tel*

"*demande*

" *demande la parole, la parole lui eſt accordée,*") is exactly copied by the Jacobin Club. There is ſurely no natural connection between Free Maſonry and Jacobiniſm—but we ſee the link—Illuminatiſm.—

The office-bearers of one of the Lodges of Philalethes in Paris were *Martin*, *Willermooz*, (who had been deputy from the *Chevaliers Bienfaiſants* to the Willemſbad Convention,) *Chappe*, *Minet*, *de la Henriere*, and *Savatier de l'Ange**. In another (the *Contract Social*) the Political Committee conſiſted of *La Fayette*, *Condorcet*, *Pethion*, *d'Orleans*, *Abbé Bartholis*, *d'Aiguillon*, *Bailly*, *Marq. de la Salle*, *Deſpreſmenil*. This particular Lodge had been founded and conducted by one *De Leutre*, an adventurer and cheat of the firſt magnitude, who ſometimes made a figure, and at other times was without a ſhilling. At this very time he was a ſpy attached to the office of the police of Pa-

* Minet was (I think) at this time a player. He was ſon of a ſurgeon at Nantes—robbed his father and fled—enliſted in Holland—deſerted and became ſmuggler—was taken and burnt in the hand—became player, and married an actreſs—then became prieſt—and was made Biſhop of Nantes by Couſtard in diſcharge of a debt of 500 l. Mr. Latocnaye often ſaw Couſtard kneel to him for benediction. It cannot be ſuppoſed that he was much venerated in his pontificals in his native city.—It ſeems Minet, Minet, is the call of the children to a kitten—This was prohibited at Nantes, and many perſons whipped for the freedom uſed with his name.

ris*. The *Duke of Orleans* was Warden of the Lodge. The *Abbé Sieyes* was a Brother Orator, but not of this Lodge, nor (I think) of the former. It was probably of the one conducted by Mirabeau and the Abbé Perigord. But it appears from the piece from which I am at present borrowing, that Sieyes was present in the meetings of both Lodges, probably as visiting Brother, employed in bringing them to common measures. I must observe, that the subsequent conduct of some of these men does not just accord with my conjecture, that the principles of the Illuminati were adopted in their full extent. But we know that all the Bavarian Brethren were not equally illuminated, and it would be only copying their teachers if the cleverest of these their scholars should hold a *sanctum sanctorum* among themselves, without inviting all to the conference. Observe too that the chief lesson which they were now taking from the Germans was *the method of doing business*, of manag-

* I am told that he now (or very lately) keeps the best company, and lives in elegance and affluence in London.

Augur, schænobates, medicus, magus, omnia novit
Græculus esuriens; in cœlum jusseris, ibit†.
Ingenium velox audacia perdita, sermo
Promptus.—— Juvenal.

† All sciences a hungry Frenchman knows,
And bid him go to hell—to hell he goes.
Johnson's Translation.

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ing their correſpondence, and of procuring and training pupils. A Frenchman does not think that he needs inſtruction in any thing like principle or ſcience. He is ready on all occaſions to be the inſtructor.

Thus were the Lodges of France converted in a very ſhort time into a ſet of ſecret affiliated ſocieties, correſponding with the mother Lodges of Paris, receiving from thence their principles and inſtructions, and ready to riſe up at once when called upon, to carry on the great work of overturning the ſtate.

Hence it has ariſen that the French aimed, in the very beginning, at overturning the whole world. In all the revolutions of other countries, the ſchemes and plots have extended no farther than the nation where they took their riſe. But here we have ſeen that they take in the whole world. They have repeatedly declared this in their manifeſtos, and they have declared it by their conduct. This is the very aim of the Illuminati.—Hence too may be explained how the revolution took place almoſt in a moment in every part of France. The revolutionary ſocieties were early formed, and were working in ſecret before the opening of the National Aſſembly, and the whole nation changed, and changed again, and again, as if by beat of drum. Thoſe duly initiated in this myſtery of iniquity were ready every where at a

call. And we ſee Weiſhaupt's wiſh accompliſhed in an unexpected degree, and the debates in a club giving laws to ſolemn aſſemblies of the nation, and all France bending the neck to the city of Paris. The members of the club are Illuminati, and ſo are a great part of their correſpondents.—Each operates in the ſtate as a Minerval would do in the Order, and the whole goes on with ſyſtematic regularity. The famous Jacobin Club was juſt one of thoſe Lodges, as has been already obſerved; and as, among individuals, one commonly takes the lead, and contrives for the reſt, ſo it has happened on the preſent occaſion, that this Lodge, ſupported by Orleans and Mirabeau, was the one that ſtepped forth and ſhewed itſelf to the world, and thus became the oracle of the party; and all the reſt only echoed its diſcourſes, and at laſt allowed it to give law to the whole, and even to rule the kingdom. It is to be remarked too that the founders of the club at Mentz were Illuminati, (*Relig. Begebenh.* 1793. p. 448.) before the Revolution, and correſponded with another Lodge at Straſburg; and theſe two produced mighty effects during the year 1790. In a performance called *Memoires Poſthumes de Cuſtine* it is ſaid that when that General was bending his courſe to Holland, the Illuminati at Straſburg, Worms, and Spire immediately formed clubs, and invited him into that quarter, and, by going to Mentz and encouraging

couraging their Brethren in that city, they raiſed a party againſt the garriſon, and actually delivered up the place to the French army.

A little book, juſt now printed with the title *Paragraphen*, ſays, that Zimmerman, of whom I have ſpoken more than once, went to France to preach liberty. He was employed as a miſſionary of Revolution in Alſace, where he had formerly been a moſt ſucceſsful miſſionary of Illuminatiſm. Of his former proceedings the following is a curious anecdote. He connected himſelf with a highly accompliſhed and beautiful woman, whoſe converſation had ſuch charms, that he ſays ſhe gained him near a hundred converts in Spire alone. Some perſons of high rank, and great exterior dignity of character, had felt more tender impreſſions—and when the lady informed them of certain conſequences to their reputation, they were glad to compound matters with her friend Mr. Zimmerman, who either paſſed for her huſband, or took the ſcandal on himſelf. He made above 1500 Louis d'ors in this way. When he returned, as a preacher of Revolution, he uſed to mount the pulpit with a ſabre in his hand, and bawl out, "Behold, Frenchmen, "this is your God. This alone can ſave you." The author adds, that when Cuſtine broke into Germany, Zimmerman got admiſſion to him, and engaged to deliver Manheim into his hands.

To gain this purpoſe, he offered to ſet ſome corners of the city on fire, and aſſured him of ſupport. Cuſtine declined the offer.—Zimmerman appeared againſt him before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and accuſed him of treachery to his cauſe.—Cuſtine's anſwer is remarkable. "Hardly," ſaid he, "had I ſet my foot in Germany, when this man, and all the fools of his country, beſieged me, and would have delivered up to me their towns and villages—What occaſion had I to do any thing to Manheim, when the Prince was neutral?" Zimmerman found his full account in Robeſpierre's bloody ſway—but the ſhort term of his atrocities was alſo the whole of Zimmerman's career. He was arreſted, but again liberated, and ſoon after again impriſoned, after which I can learn no more of him. The ſame thing is poſitively aſſerted in another performance, called *Cri de la Raiſon*, and in a third, called *Les Maſques arrachées*. Obſerve too, that it is not the clubs merely that are accuſed of this treachery, but the Illuminati. *De la Metherie* alſo, in his preface to the *Journal de Phyſique* for 1790, ſays expreſsly, that "the cauſe and arms of France were powerfully ſupported in Germany by a ſect of philoſopher's called the Illuminated." In the preface to the *Journal* for 1792, he ſays, that "Letters and deputations were received by the Aſſem-

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" bly from ſeveral Correſponding Societies in " England, felicitating them on the triumph of " Reaſon and Humanity, and promiſing them " their cordial aſſiſtance." He read ſome of theſe manifeſtos, and ſays, that, " one of them " recommended ſtrongly the political education " of the children, who ſhould be taken from the " parents, and trained up for the ſtate." Another lamented the baleful influence of property, ſaying that " the efforts of the Aſſembly would " be fruitleſs, till the fence was removed with " which the laws ſo anxiouſly ſecured inordinate " wealth. They ſhould rather be directed to the " ſupport of talents and virtue; becauſe property would always ſupport itſelf by the too " great influence which it had in every corrupted " ſtate. The laws ſhould prevent the too great " accumulation of it in particular families."—— In ſhort, the counſel was almoſt verbatim what the Abbé Coſſandey declared to have been the doctrine preached in the meetings of the Illuminati, which terrified him and his colleagues, and made them quit the Aſſociation. Anacharſis Cloots, born in Pruſſian Weſtphalia, a keen Illuminatus, came to Paris for the expreſs purpoſe of forwarding the *great work*, and by intriguing in the ſtyle of the Order, he got himſelf made one of the Repreſentatives of the Nation. He ſeems to have been one of the completeſt fanatics

natics in Cosmo-politism, and just such a tool as Weishaupt would choose to employ for a coarse and arduous job. He broke out at once into all the silly extravagance of the unthinking herd, and his whole language is just the jargon of Illumination. Citizen of the world—Liberty and Equality, the imprescriptible Rights of Man—Morality, dear Morality—Kings and Priests are useless things—they are Despots and Corrupters, &c.——He declared himself an atheist, and zealously laboured to have atheism established by law. He conducted that farcical procession in the true style of the most childish ritual of Philo, where counterfeited deputies from all quarters of the world, in the dresses of their countries, came to congratulate the nation for its victory over Kings and Priests. It is also worthy of remark, that by this time Leuchtsenring, whom we have seen so zealous an *Illuminatus*, after having been as zealous a Protestant, tutor of Princes, Hofrath and Hofmeister, was now a secretary or clerk in one of the Bureaus of the National Assembly of France.

I may add as a finishing touch, that the National Assembly of France was the only body of men that I have ever heard of who openly and systematically proposed to employ assassination, and to institute a band of patriots, who should exercise this profession either by sword, pistol, or poison;—

poiſon;—and though the propoſal was not carried into execution, it might be conſidered as the ſentiments of the meeting; for it was only delayed till it ſhould be conſidered how far it might not be imprudent, becauſe they might expect repriſals. The Abbé Dubois engaged to poiſon the Comte d'Artois; but was himſelf robbed and poiſoned by his accomplices.—There were ſtrong reaſons for thinking that the Emperor of Germany was poiſoned—and that Mirabeau was thus treated by his pupil Orleans,—alſo Madame de Favras and her ſon.—This was copying the Illuminati very carefully.

After all theſe particulars, can any perſon have a doubt that the Order of Illuminati formally interfered in the French Revolution, and contributed greatly to its progreſs? There is no denying the inſolence and oppreſſion of the Crown and the Nobles, nor the miſery and ſlavery of the people, nor that there were ſufficient provocation and cauſe for a total change of meaſures and of principles. But the rapidity with which one opinion was declared in every corner, and that opinion as quickly changed, and the change announced every where, and the perfect conformity of the principles, and ſameneſs of the language, even in arbitrary trifles, can hardly be explained in any other way. It may indeed be ſaid "*que les beaux genies ſe rencontrent*,—that wits jump. The principles are "the

" the ſame, and the conduct of the French has " been ſuch as the Illuminati would have exhi- " bited; but this is all—the Illuminati no longer " exiſted." Enough has been ſaid on this laſt point already.—The facts are as have been narrated. The Illuminati continued *as an Order*, and even held aſſemblies, though not ſo frequently nor ſo formally as before, and though their *Areopagus* was no longer at Munich. But let us hear what the French themſelves thought of the matter.

In 1789, or the beginning of 1790, *a manifeſto was ſent from the* GRAND NATIONAL LODGE *of Free Maſons* (ſo it is entitled) *at Paris, ſigned by the Duke of Orleans as Grand Maſter, addreſſed and ſent to the Lodges in all the reſpectable cities of Europe, exhorting them to unite for the ſupport of the French Revolution, to gain it friends, defenders, and dependents; and according to their opportunities, and the practicability of the thing, to kindle and propagate the ſpirit of revolution through all lands.* This is a moſt important article, and deſerves a very ſerious attention. I got it firſt of all in a work called, *Hochſte wichtige Erinnerungen zur rechten Zeit uber einige der allerernſthafteſten Angelegenheiten dieſes Zeitalters, von L. A. Hoffmann*, Vienna, 1795*.

* Moſt important Memorandums, in proper Seaſon, concerning one of the moſt ſerious Occurrences of the preſent Age, by L. A. Hoffmann, Vienna, 1795.

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The author of this work says, "That every "thing he advances in these memorandums is "consistent with his own personal knowledge, "and that he is ready to give convincing proofs "of them to any respectable person who will "apply to him personally. He has already given "such convincing documents to the Emperor, "and to several Princes, that many of the machi- "nations occasioned by this manifesto have been "detected and stopped; and he would have no "scruple at laying the whole before the public, "did it not unavoidably involve several worthy "persons who had suffered themselves to be "misled, and heartily repented of their errors." He is naturally (being a Catholic) very severe on the Protestants, (and indeed he has much reason,) and by this has drawn on himself many bitter retorts. He has however defended himself against all that are of any consequence to his good name and veracity, in a manner that fully convinces any impartial reader, and turns to the confusion of the slanderers.

Hoffmann says, that "he saw some of those "manifestos; that they were not all of one tenor, "some being addressed to friends, of whose sup- "port they were already assured." One very important article of their contents is *Earnest exhortations to establish in every quarter secret schools of political education, and schools for the public education of the children of the people, under the direction*

of

of well-principled maſters; and offers of pecuniary aſſiſtance for this purpoſe, and for the encouragement of writers in favour of the Revolution, and for indemnifying the patriotic bookſellers who ſuffer by their endeavours to ſuppreſs publications which have an oppoſite tendency. We know very well that the immenſe revenue of the Duke of Orleans was ſcattered among all the rabble of the *Palais Royal.* Can we doubt of its being employed in this manner? Our doubts muſt vaniſh, when we ſee that not long after this it was publicly ſaid in the National Aſſembly, "that this method was the moſt "effectual for accompliſhing their purpoſe of ſet-"ting Europe in a flame." "But much ex-"pence," ſays the ſpeaker, "will attend it, and "much has already been employed, which can-"not be named, becauſe it is given in ſecret." The Aſſembly had given the Illumination war-hoop—"*Peace with cottages, but war with palaces.*"—A *pouvoir revolutionnaire* is mentioned, which ſuperſedes all narrow thoughts, all ties of morality. Lequinio publiſhes the moſt deteſtable book that ever iſſued from a printing preſs, *Les Prejugés vaincus*, containing all the principles, and expreſſed in the very words of Illuminatiſm.

Hoffmann ſays, that the French *Propaganda* had many emiſſaries in Vienna, and many friends whom he could point out. Mirabeau in particular had many connections in Vienna, and to the certain knowledge of Hoffmann, carried on

a great correſpondence in cyphers. The progreſs of Illumination had been very great in the Auſtrian States, and a ſtateſman gave him accounts of their proceedings, (*qui font redreſſer les cheveux*,) which makes one's hair ſtand on end. "I no longer wonder," ſays he, "that the *Neueſte* "*Arbeitung des Spartacus und Philo* was forbid- "den. O ye almighty *Illuminati*, what can you "not accompliſh by your ſerpent-like inſinua- "tion and cunning!" Your leaders ſay, "This "book is dangerous, becauſe it will teach wicked "men the moſt refined methods of rebellion, and "it muſt never get into the hands of the com- "mon people. They have ſaid ſo with the moſt "impudent face to ſome Princes, who did not "perceive the deeper-laid reaſon for ſuppreſſing "the book. The leaders of the *Illuminati* are, "not without reaſon, in anxiety, leſt the infe- "rior claſſes of their own Society ſhould make "juſt repriſals for having been ſo baſely tricked, "by keeping them back, and in profound igno- "rance of their real deſigns; and for working "on them, by the very goodneſs of their hearts, "to their final ruin; and leſt the Free Maſons, "whom they have alſo abuſed, ſhould think of re- "venging themſelves, when the matchleſs villany "of their deceivers has been ſo clearly expoſed. "It is in vain for them to talk of the danger of "inſtructing the people in the methods of fo-

"menting

" menting rebellion by this book. The aims " are too apparent, and even in the neighbour- " hood of Regenſburg, where the ſtrength of " the *Illuminati* lay, every perſon ſaid aloud, that " the Illuminatiſm diſcovered by this book was " High Treaſon, and the moſt unheard-of at- " tempt to annihilate every religion and every " civil government." He goes on: " In 1790 " I was as well acquainted with the ſpirit of the " Illumination-ſyſtem as at preſent, but only not " ſo documented by their conſtitutional acts, as it " is now by the *Neueſte Arbeitung des Spartacus* " *und Philo.* My Maſonic connections were for- " merly extenſive, and my publication entitled " *Eighteen Paragraphs concerning Free Maſonry,* " procured me more acquaintance with Free Ma- " ſons of the greateſt worth, and of *Illuminati* " equaly upright, perſons of reſpectability and " knowledge, who had diſcovered and repented " the trick and inveigling conduct of the Order. " All of us jointly ſwore oppoſition to the *Illumi-* " *nati*, and my friends conſidered me as a pro- " per inſtrument for this purpoſe. To whet my " zeal, they put papers into my hands which " made me ſhudder, and raiſed my diſlike to the " higheſt pitch. I received from them liſts of the " members, and among them ſaw names which " I lamented exceedingly. Thus ſtood matters " in 1790, when the French Revolution began

to

" to take a ſerious turn. The intelligent ſaw in " the open ſyſtem of the Jacobins the complete " hidden ſyſtem of the Illuminati. We knew " that this ſyſtem included the whole world in " its aims, and France was only the place of its " firſt exploſion. The Propaganda works in " every corner to this hour, and its emiſſaries " run about in all the four quarters of the world, " and are to be found in numbers in every city " that is a ſeat of government."

" He farther relates how they in Vienna " wanted to enliſt him, and, as this failed, how " they have abuſed him even in the foreign " newſpapers.

" I have perſonal knowledge (continues he) " that in Germany a ſecond Mirabeau, Mauvil- " lon, had propoſed in detail a plan of revolu- " tion, entirely and preciſely ſuited to the preſent " ſtate of Germany. This he circulated among " ſeveral Free Maſon Lodges, among all the Illu- " minated Lodges which ſtill remained in Ger- " many, and through the hands of all the emiſ- " ſaries of the Propaganda, who had been al- " ready diſpatched to the frontiers (*vorpoſten*) of " every diſtrict of the empire, with means for " ſtirring up the people." (N. B. In 1792, Mauvillon, finding abundant ſupport and encouragement in the appearance of things round him, when the French arms had penetrated every

where, and their invitations to revolt had met with ſo hearty a reception from the diſcontented in every ſtate, came boldly forward, and, in the Brunſwick Journal for March 1792, declared that "he heartily rejoiced in the French Revolution, "wiſhed it all ſucceſs, and thought himſelf liable "to no reproach when he declared his hopes "that a ſimilar revolution would ſpeedily take "place in Germany.")

In the Hamburgh Political Journal, Auguſt, September, and October 1790, there are many proofs of the machinations of emiſſaries from the *Maſon Lodges* of Paris among the German Free Maſons—See pages 836, 963, 1087, &c. It appears that a club has taken the name of *Propaganda*, and meets once a week at leaſt, in the form of a Maſon Lodge. It conſiſts of perſons of all nations, and is under the direction of the Grand Maſter, the Duke of Orleans. De Leutre is one of the Wardens. They have divided Europe into colonies, to which they give revolutionary names, ſuch as the *Cap*, the *Pike*, the *Lantern*, &c. They have miniſters in theſe colonies. (One is pointed out in Saxony, by marks which I preſume are well underſtood.) A ſecret preſs was found in Saxe Gotha, furniſhed with German types, which printed a ſeditious work called the *Journal of Humanity*. This journal was found in the mornings lying in the ſtreets and highways.

The

The houſe belonged to an *Illuminatus* of the name of Duport, a poor ſchoolmaſter—he was aſſociated with another in Straſburg, who was alſo an *Illuminatus*.—His name was Meyer, the writer of the Straſburg Newſpaper. He had been ſome time a teacher in Salzmann's academy, who we ſee was alſo an *Illuminatus*, but diſpleaſed with their proceedings almoſt at the firſt. (Private Correſpondence.)

" I have perſonal knowledge, (continues Pro-
" feſſor Hoffmann,) that in 1791, during the
" temporary dearth at Vienna, ſeveral of theſe
" emiſſaries were buſy in corrupting the minds of
" the poor, by telling them that in like manner
" the court had produced a famine in Paris in
" 1789. I detected ſome of them, and expoſed
" them in my *Patriotic Remarks on the preſent*
" *Dearth*, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing my
" endeavours of conſiderable effect."

Surely theſe facts ſhow that the Anarchiſts of France knew of the German Illuminati, and confided in their ſupport. They alſo knew to what particular Lodges they could addreſs themſelves with ſafety and confidence.—But what need is there of more argument, when we know the zeal of the Illuminati, and the unhoped-for opportunity that the Revolution had given them of acting with immediate effect in carrying on their great and darling work? Can we doubt that they

would eagerly put their hand to the plough? And, to complete the proof, do we not know from the lists found in the secret correspondence of the Order, that they already had Lodges in France, and that in 1790 and 1791, many Illuminated Lodges in Germany, viz. at Mentz, Worms, Spire, Frankfort, actually interfered, and produced great effects. In Switzerland too they were no less active. They had Lodges at Geneva and at Bern. At Bern two Jacobins were sentenced to several years imprisonment, and among their papers were found their patents of Illumination. I also see the fate of Geneva ascribed to the operations of Illuminati residing there by several writers—particularly by Girtanner, and by the Gottingen editor of the Revolution Almanac.

I conclude this article with an extract or two from the proceedings of the National Assembly and Convention, which make it evident that their principles and their practice are precisely those of the Illuminati, on a great scale.

When the assumption of the Duchy of Savoy as an 84th Department was debated, Danton said to the Convention,

"In the moment that we send freedom to a "nation on our frontier, we must say to them, "You must have no more Kings"—for if we "are surrounded by tyrants, their coalition puts "our own freedom in danger.—When the

"French

" French nation ſent us hither, it created a great " committee for the general inſurrection of the " people."

On the 19th of November 1792 it was decreed, " That the Convention, in the name of the " French nation, tenders help and fraternity to " all people who would recover their liberty."

On the 21ſt of November, the Preſident of the Convention ſaid to the pretended deputies of the Duchy of Savoy, " Repreſentatives of an inde- " pendent people, important to mankind was " the day when the National Convention of " France pronounced its ſentence, *Royal dignity* " *is aboliſhed.*—From that day many nations will " in future reckon the era of their political ex- " iſtence.—From the beginning of civil eſtabliſh- " ments Kings have been in oppoſition to their " nations—but now they riſe up to annihilate " Kings.—Reaſon, when ſhe darts her rays into " every corner, lays open eternal truths—She " alone enables us to paſs ſentence on deſpots, " hitherto the ſcare-crow of other nations."

But the moſt diſtinct exhibition of principle is to be ſeen in a report from the diplomatic committee, who were commiſſioned to deliberate on the conduct which France was to hold with other nations. On this report was founded the decree of the 15th of December 1793. The Reporter addreſſes the Convention as follows.

" The Committees of Finance and War aſk in " the beginning, What is the object of the war " which we have taken in hand? Without all " doubt the object is THE ANNIHILATION OF " ALL PRIVILEGES, WAR WITH THE PALACES, " PEACE WITH THE COTTAGES. Theſe are the " principles on which *your declaration of war* is " founded. All tyranny, all privilege, muſt be " treated as an enemy in the countries where we " ſet our foot. This is the genuine reſult of our " principles.—But it is not with Kings alone " that we are to wage war—were theſe our ſole " enemies, we ſhould only have to bring down " ten or twelve heads. We have to fight with " all their accomplices, with the privileged orders, " who devour and have oppreſſed the people dur- " ing many centuries.

" We muſt therefore declare ourſelves for a " revolutionary power in all the countries into " which we enter—(Loud applauſes from the Aſ- " ſembly)—Nor need we put on the cloak of hu- " manity—we diſdain ſuch little arts.—We muſt " clothe ourſelves with all the brilliancy of reaſon, " and all the force of the nation. We need not " maſk our principles—the deſpots know them " already. The firſt thing we muſt do is to ring " the alarum bell, for inſurrection and uproar.— " We muſt, in a ſolemn manner, let the people " ſee the baniſhment of their tyrants and privi-

" leged

" leged caſts—otherwiſe, the people, accuſtomed
" to their fetters, will not be able to break their
" bonds.—It will effect nothing, merely to excite
" a riſing of the people—this would only be giv-
" ing them words, inſtead of ſtanding by them.

" And ſince, in this manner, we ourſelves are
" the Revolutionary Adminiſtration, all that is
" againſt the rights of the people muſt be over-
" thrown, at our entry—We muſt diſplay our
" principles by actually deſtroying all tyranny;
" and our generals, after having chaſed away the
" tyrants and their ſatellites, muſt proclaim to the
" people that they have brought them happineſs;
" and then, on the ſpot, they muſt ſuppreſs tithes,
" feudal rights, and every ſpecies of ſervitude."

" But we ſhall have done nothing if we ſtop
" here. Ariſtocracy ſtill domineers—we muſt
" therefore ſuppreſs all authorities exiſting in the
" hands of the upper claſſes.—When the Revo-
" lutionary Authority appears, there muſt no-
" thing of the old eſtabliſhment remain.—A po-
" pular ſyſtem muſt be introduced—every office
" muſt be occupied by new functionaries—and
" the Sans Culottes muſt every where have a ſhare
" in the Adminiſtration.

" Still nothing is done, till we declare aloud
" the *preciſion* of our principles to ſuch as want
" only a half freedom.—We muſt ſay to them—
" If you think of compromiſing with the privileg-
" ed caſts, we cannot ſuffer ſuch dealing with

" tyrants—They are our enemies, and we muſt " treat them as enemies, becauſe they are neither " for Liberty nor Equality.—Show yourſelves " diſpoſed to receive a free conſtitution—and the " Convention will not only ſtand by you, but will " give you permanent ſupport; we will defend " you againſt the vengeance of your tyrants, " againſt their attacks, and againſt their return.— " Therefore aboliſh from among you the Nobles " —and every eccleſiaſtical and military incor- " poration. They are incompatible with Equali- " ty.—Henceforward you are citizens, all equal " in rights—equally called upon to rule, to de- " fend, and to ſerve your country.—The " agents of the French Republic will inſtruct and " aſſiſt you in forming a free conſtitution, and " aſſure you of happineſs and fraternity."

This Report was loudly applauded, and a decree formed in preciſe conformity to its principles.—Both were ordered to be tranſlated into all languages, and copies to be furniſhed to their generals, with orders to have them carefully diſperſed in the countries which they invaded.

And, in completion of theſe decrees, their armies found it eaſy to collect as many diſcontented or worthleſs perſons in any country as ſufficed for ſetting up a tree of liberty. This they held as a ſufficient call for their interference.—Sometimes they performed this ceremony themſelves

ſelves—a repreſentation was eaſily made up in the ſame way—and then, under the name of a free conſtitution, the nation was forced to acquieſce in a form dictated at the point of the bayonet, in which they had not the ſmalleſt liberty to chooſe —and they were plundered of all they had, by way of compenſating to France for the trouble ſhe had taken.—And this they call Liberty.—It needs no comment.—

Thus have I attempted to prove that the preſent awful ſituation of Europe, and the general fermentation of the public mind in all nations, have not been altogether the natural operations of diſcontent, oppreſſion, and moral corruption, although theſe have been great, and have operated with fatal energy; but that this political fever has been carefully and ſyſtematically heightened by bodies of men, who profeſſed to be the phyſicians of the State, and, while their open practice employed cooling medicines, and a treatment which all approved, adminiſtered in ſecret the moſt inflammatory poiſons, which they made up ſo as to flatter the diſeaſed fancy of the patient. Although this was not a plan begun, carried on, and completed by the ſame perſons, it was undoubtedly an uniform and conſiſtent ſcheme, proceeding on the ſame unvaried principle, and France undoubtedly now ſmarts under all the woes of German Illumination.

I beg

I beg leave to ſuggeſt a few thoughts, which may enable us to draw ſome advantage from this ſhocking maſs of information.

General Reflections.

I. I may obſerve, in the *firſt* place, and I beg it may be particularly attended to, that in all thoſe villanous machinations againſt the peace of the world, the attack has been firſt made on the principles of Morality and Religion. The conſpirators ſaw that till theſe are extirpated, they have no chance of ſucceſs; and their manner of proceeding ſhews that they conſider Religion and Morality as inſeparably connected together. We learn much from this—*Fas eſt et ab hoſte doceri.*——They endeavour to deſtroy our religious ſentiments, by firſt corrupting our morals.—They try to inflame our paſſions, that when the demands from this quarter become urgent, the reſtraints of Religion may immediately come in ſight, and ſtand in the way.—They are careful, on this occaſion, to give ſuch a view of thoſe reſtraints, that the real origin of them does not appear.—We are made to believe that they have been altogether the contrivance of prieſts and deſpots, in order to get the command of us.——

They

They take care to ſupport theſe aſſertions by facts, which, to our great ſhame, and greater misfortune, are but too numeroas. Having now the paſſions on their ſide, they find no difficulty in perſuading the voluptuary, or the diſcontented, that tyranny actually exerted, or reſolved on in future, is the ſole origin of religious reſtraint. He ſeeks no further argument, and gives himſelf no trouble to find any.—Had he examined the matter with any care, he would find himſelf juſt brought back to thoſe very feelings of moral excellence and moral depravity that he wiſhes to get rid of altogether; and theſe would tell him that pure Religion does not lay a ſingle reſtraint on us that a noble nature would not have laid on itſelf—nor enjoins a ſingle duty which an ingenuous and warm heart would not be aſhamed to find itſelf deficient in. He would then ſee that all the ſanctions of Religion are fitted to his high rank in the ſcale of exiſtence. And the more he contemplates his future proſpects, the more they brighten upon his view, the more attainable they appear, and the more he is able to know what they may probably be. Having attained this happy ſtate of mind, (an attainment in the power of any kind heart that is in earneſt in the enquiry,) he will think that no puniſhment is too great for the unthankful and groveling

ing foul which can forego such hopes, and reject these noble proffers, for the comparatively frivolous and transitory gratifications of life. He is not frightened into worthy and virtuous conduct by fears of such merited punishment; but, if not enticed into it by his high expectations, he is, at least, retained in the paths of virtue by a kind of manly shame.

But all this is overloked, or is kept out of sight, in the instructions of Illuminatism. In these the eye must be kept always directed to the Despot. This is the bugbear, and every thing is made to connect with present or future tyranny and oppression—Therefore Religion is held out as a combination of terrors—the invention of the state-tools, the priests.—But it is not easy to stifle the suggestions of Nature—therefore no pains are spared to keep them down, by encreasing the uncertainty and doubts which arise in the course of all speculations on such subjects. Such difficulties occur in all scientific discussions.—Here they must be numerous and embarrassing—for in this enquiry we come near the first principles of things, and the first principles of human knowledge. The geometer does not wonder at mistakes even in *his* science, the most simple of all others.—Nor does the mechanic or the chemist reject all his science, because he cannot attain clear

clear conceptions of ſome of the natural relations which operate in the phenomena under his conſideration.—Nor do any of theſe ſtudents of nature brand with the name of fool, or knave, or bigot, another perſon who has drawn a different concluſion from the phenomenon.——In one point they all agree—they find themſelves poſſeſſed of faculties which enable them to ſpeculate, and to diſcover; and they find, that the operation of thoſe faculties is quite unlike the things which they contemplate by their means—*and they feel a ſatisfaction in the poſſeſſion of them*, and in this diſtinction.——But this ſeems a misfortune to our Illuminators. I have long been ſtruck with this. If by deep meditation I have ſolved a problem which has baffled the endeavours of others, I ſhould hardly thank the perſon who convinced me that my ſucceſs was entirely owing to the particular ſtate of my health, by which my brain was kept free from many irritations to which other perſons are expoſed. Yet this is the conduct of the Illuminated—They are abundantly ſelf-conceited; and yet they continually endeavour to deſtroy all grounds of ſelf-eſtimation.—They rejoice in every diſcovery that is reported to them of ſome reſemblance, unnoticed before, between mankind and the inferior creation, and would be happy to find that the reſemblance is complete. It is very true, Mr.

Pope's

Pope's "Poor Indian, with untutor'd mind," had no objection to his dog's going to heaven with him:

> "And thinks, admitted to that equal ſky,
> "His faithful dog ſhall bear him company."

This is not an abject, but it is a modeſt ſentiment. But our high-minded philoſophers, who, with Beatrice in the play, "cannot brook obe-" dience to a wayward piece of marl," if it be in the ſhape of a Prince, have far other notions of the matter. Indeed they are not yet agreed about it. Mr. de la Metherie hopes, that before the enlightened Republic of France has got into its teens, he ſhall be able to tell his fellow-citizens, in his *Journal de Phyſique*, that particular form of cryſtallization which men have been accuſtomed to call God.—Dr. Prieſtley again deduces all intelligence from elaſtic undulations, and will probably think, that his own great diſcoveries have been the quiverings of ſome fiery marſh *miaſma*. While Pope's poor Indian hopes to take his dog to heaven with him, theſe Illuminators hope to die like dogs, and that both ſoul and body ſhall be as if they never had been.

Is not this a melancholy reſult of all our Illumination? It is of a piece with the termination of the ideal Philoſophy, viz. profeſſed and total ignorance. Should not this make us ſtart back and heſitate, before we pout like wayward children at the

the hardſhips of civil ſubordination, and before we make a ſacrifice to our ill humour of all that we value ourſelves for? Does it not carry ridicule and abſurdity in its forehead?—Such aſſertions of perſonal worth and dignity, (always excepting Princes and Prieſts,) and ſuch abject acknowledgments of worthleſſneſs.—Does not this, of itſelf, ſhow that there is ſome radical fault in the whole? It has all ariſen from what they have called *Illumination*, and this turns out to be worſe than darkneſs—But we alſo know that it has all ariſen from ſelf-conceited diſcontent, and that it has been brought to its preſent ſtate by the rage of ſpeculation. We may venture to put the queſtion to any man's conſcience—whether diſcontent did not precede his doubts about his own nature, and whether he has not *encouraged* the train of argument that tended to degrade him? "Thy wiſh was father, Harry, "to that thought."—Should not this make us diſtruſt, at leaſt, the operations of this faculty of our mind, and try to moderate and check this darling propenſity.—It ſeems a misfortune of the age—for we ſee that it is a natural ſource of diſturbance and revolution.

But here it will be immediately ſaid, "What, "muſt we give over thinking—be no longer ra- "tional creatures, and believe every lie that is "told us?" By no means.—Let us be *really* rational creatures—and, taught by experience, let

us, in all our ſpeculations on ſubjects which engage the paſſions, guard ourſelves with the moſt anxious care againſt the riſk of having our judgments warped by our deſires.—There is no propenſity of our nature of which the proper and modeſt indulgence is not beneficial to man, and which is not hurtful, when this indulgence is carried too far.—And if we candidly peruſe the page of hiſtory, we ſhall be convinced that the abuſe is great in proportion as the ſubject is important. What has been ſo ruinouſly perverted as the religious principle?—What horrid ſuperſtition has it not produced? The Reader will not, I hope, take it amiſs that I preſume to direct his attention to ſome maxims which ought to conduct a prudent man in his indulgence of a ſpeculative diſpoſition, and apply them to the caſe in hand.

Whoever will for a while call off his attention from the common affairs of life, the *Curæ hominum, et rerum pondus inane*, and will but reflect a little on that wonderful principle within him, which carries him over the whole univerſe, and ſhows him its various relations—Whoever alſo remarks how very ſmall a proportion his own individual exiſtence bears to this immeaſurable ſcene, cannot but feel an inexpreſſible pleaſure in the contemplation of his own powers—He muſt riſe in his own eſtimation, and be diſpoſed to cheriſh with fondneſs this principle which ſo eminently raiſes him above all around him. Of all the ſources

of

of human vanity this is surely the most manly, the most excusable, and the most likely to be extravagantly indulged.—We may be certain that it will be so indulged, and that men will frequently speculate for the sake of speculation alone, and that they will have too much confidence in the results of this favourite occupation.—As there have been ages of indolent and abject credulity and superstition, it is next to certain that there are also times of wild and extravagant speculation—and when we see it becoming a sort of general passion, we may be certain that this is a case in point.

This can hardly be denied to be the character of the present day. It is not denied. On the contrary it is gloried in, as the prerogative of the 18th century. All the speculations of antiquity are considered as glimmerings (with the exceptions of a few brighter flashes) when compared with our present meridian splendor. We should therefore listen with caution to the inferences from this boasted Illumination. Also, when we reflect on what passes in our own minds, and on what we observe in the world, of the mighty influence of our desires and passions on our judgments, we should carefully notice whether any such warping of the belief is probable in the present case. That it is so is almost certain—for the general and immediate effect of this Illumination is to lessen or remove many restraints which the sanctions

of religion lay on the indulgence of very ſtrong paſſions, and to diminiſh our regard for a certain purity or correctneſs of manners, which religion recommends, as the only conduct ſuited to our noble natures, and as abſolutely neceſſary for attaining that perfection and happineſs of which we are capable.—For ſurely if we take away religion, it will be wiſdom " to eat and to drink, ſince to-" morrow we die." If, moreover, we ſee this Illumination extolled above all ſcience, as friendly to virtue, as improving the heart, and as producing a juſt morality, which will lead to happineſs both for ourſelves and others, but perceive at the ſame time that theſe aſſertions are made at the expence of principles, which our natural feelings force us to venerate as ſupreme and paramount to all others, we may then be certain that our informer is trying to miſlead and deceive us.—For all virtue and goodneſs, both of heart and conduct, is in perfect harmony, and there is no jarring or inconſiſtency. But we muſt paſs this ſentence on the doctrines of this Illumination. For it is a melancholy truth that they have been preached and recommended, for the moſt part, by clergymen, pariſh-miniſters, who, in the preſence of invoked Deity, and in the face of the world, have ſet their ſolemn ſeal to a ſyſtem of doctrines directly oppoſite to thoſe recommended in their writings; which doctrines they ſolemnly

ſolemnly profeſs to believe, and ſolemnly ſwear to inculcate.—Surely the informations and inſtructions of ſuch men ſhould be rejected.—Where ſhall we find their real opinions? In their ſolemn oaths?—or in theſe infidel diſſertations?—In either caſe, they are deceivers, whether miſled by vanity or by the mean deſire of church-emoluments; or they are proſtitutes, courting the ſociety of the wealthy and ſenſual.—Honeſty, like juſtice, admits of no degrees.—A man is honeſt, or he is a knave—and who would truſt a knave?—But ſuch men are unſuitable inſtructors for another reaſon—they are unwiſe;—for, whatever they may think, they are not reſpected as men of worth, but are inwardly deſpiſed as paraſites, by the rich, who admit them into their company, and treat them with civility, for their own reaſons. We take inſtructions not merely from the knowing,—the learned,—but from the wiſe—not therefore from men who give ſuch evidences of weakneſs.

Such would be the conduct of a prudent man, who liſtens to the inſtructions of another with the ſerious intention of profiting by them. In the preſent caſe, he ſees plain proofs of degraded ſelf-eſtimation, of diſhoneſty, and of mean motives. But the prudent man will go further—he will remark that diſſolute manners, and actions which are inevitably ſubverſive of the peace and

order, nay, of the very exiſtence of ſociety, are the natural and neceſſary conſequences of irreligion. Should any doubt of this remain in his mind; ſhould he ſometimes think of an Epictetus, or one or two individuals of antiquity, who were eminently virtuous, without the influence of religious ſanctions, he ſhould recollect, that the Stoics were animated by the thought, that while the wiſe man was playing the game of life, the gods were looking on, and pleaſed with his ſkill. Let him read the beautiful account given by Dr. Smith of the riſe of the Stoic philoſophy, and he will ſee that it was an artificial, but noble, attempt of a few exalted minds, enthuſiaſts in virtue, aiming to ſteel their ſouls againſt the dreadful but unavoidable misfortunes to which they were continually expoſed by the daily recurring revolutions in the turbulent democracies of ancient Greece. There a philoſopher was this day a Magiſtrate, and the next day a captive and a ſlave. He would ſee, that this fair picture of mental happineſs and independence was fitted for the contemplation of only a few choice ſpirits, but had no influence on the bulk of mankind. He muſt admire the noble characters who were animated by this manly enthuſiaſm, and who have really exhibited ſome wonderful pictures of virtuous heroiſm; but he will regret, that the influence of theſe manly, theſe natural principles, was not

more

more extenſive. He will ſay to himſelf, "How "will a whole nation act, when religious ſanc- "tions are removed, and men are actuated by rea- "ſon alone?"—He is not without inſtruction on this important ſubject. France has given an awful leſſon to ſurrounding nations, by ſhewing them what is the natural effect of ſhaking off the religious principle, and the veneration for that pure morality which characteriſes Chriſtianity. By a decree of the Convention, (June 6, 1794,) it is declared, that there is nothing criminal in the promiſcuous commerce of the ſexes, and therefore nothing that derogates from the female character, when woman forgets that ſhe is the depoſitary of all domeſtic ſatisfaction,—that her honour is the ſacred bond of ſocial life,—that on her modeſty and delicacy depend all the reſpect and confidence that will make a man attach himſelf to her ſociety, free her from labour, ſhare with her the fruits of all his own exertions, and work with willingneſs and delight, that ſhe may appear on all occaſions his equal, and the ornament of all his acquiſitions. In the very argument which this ſelected body of ſenators has given for the propriety of this decree, it has degraded woman below all eſtimation. "It is to prevent her from "murdering the fruit of unlawful love, by re- "moving her ſhame, and by relieving her from "the fear of want." The ſenators ſay, "the

" Republic wants citizens, and therefore muſt " not only remove this temptation of ſhame, but " muſt take care of the mother while ſhe nurſes " the child. It is the property of the nation, " and muſt not be loſt." The woman all the while is conſidered only as the ſhe-animal, the breeder of Sans Culottes. This is the *juſt* morality of Illumination. It is really amuſing (for things revolting to nature now amuſe) to obſerve with what fidelity the principles of the *Illuminati* have expreſſed the ſentiments which take poſſeſſion of a people who have ſhaken off the ſanctions of religion and morality. The following is part of the addreſs to *Pſycharion* and the company mentioned in page 257: " Once more, Pſycharion, I " indulge you with a look behind you to the " flowery days of childhood. Now look forwards, " *young woman!* the holy circle of the marriage- " able (*mannbaren*) welcome you.—Young " men, honour the young woman, the future " breeder (*gebaererin*)!" Then, to all.—" Re- " joice in the dawn of Illumination and of Free- " dom. Nature at laſt enjoys her ſacred never- " fading rights. Long was her voice kept down " by civil ſubordination; but the days of your " majority now draw nigh, and you will no " longer, under the authority of guardians, ac- " count it a reproach to conſider with enlight- " ened eyes the ſecret workſhops of Nature, and

" to enjoy your work and duty." Minos thought this very fine, but it raiſed a terrible diſturbance, and broke up the aſſembly.

Such are the effects of this boaſted enlightening of the human mind with reſpect to religion and morality. Let us next conſider what is the reſult of the mighty informations which we have got in reſpect of our ſocial or political connections.

II. We have learned the ſum total of this political Illumination, and ſee that, if true, it is melancholy, deſtructive of our preſent comforts, numerous as they are, and affords no proſpect of redreſs from which we can profit, but, on the contrary, plunges mankind into diſſention, mutual injury, and univerſal miſery, and all this for the *chance* only of prevailing in the conteſt, and giving our poſterity a *chance* of going on in peace, if no change ſhall be produced, as in former times, by the efforts of ambitious men. But the Illumination appears to be partial, nay falſe. What is it? It holds out to the Prince nothing but the reſignation of all his poſſeſſions, rights, and claims, ſanctioned by the quiet poſſeſſion of ages, and by all the feelings of the human heart which give any notion of right to his loweſt ſubject. All theſe poſſeſſions and claims are diſcovered to have ariſen from uſurpations, *and are therefore tyranny.* It has been diſcovered, that all ſubordinate ſubjections were enforced, *therefore their continuance is*

ſlavery. But both of theſe hiſtorical aſſertions are in a great degree falſe, and the inferences from them are unreaſonable. The world has gone on as we ſee it go on at preſent. Moſt principalities or ſovereignties have ariſen as we ſee perſonal authorities and influence ariſe every day among ourſelves. Buſineſs for the whole muſt be done. Moſt men are ſufficiently occupied by their private affairs, and they are indolent even in theſe—they are contented when another does the thing for them. There is not a little village, nor a ſociety of men, where this is not ſeen every day. Some men have an enjoyment in this kind of vicarious employment. Other men like influence and power, and thus are compenſated for their trouble. Thus many petty managers of public affairs ariſe in every country. The mutual animoſities of individuals, and ſtill more, the animoſities of tribes, clans, and different aſſociations, give riſe to another kind of ſuperiors—to leaders, who direct the ſtruggles of the reſt, whether for offence or defence. The deſcendants of Iſrael ſaid "they wanted a man to go out before the "people, like other nations." As the ſmall buſineſs of a few individuals requires a manager or a leader, ſo do ſome more general affairs of theſe petty ſuperiors.—Many of theſe alſo are indolent enough to wiſh this trouble taken off their hands; and thus another rank of ſuperiors ariſes, and a third, and ſo on, till a great State may be formed;

formed; and in this gradation each class is a competent judge of the conduct of that class only which is immediately above it.

All this may arise, and has often arisen, from voluntary concession alone. This concession may proceed from various causes,—from confidence in superior talents—from confidence in great worth,—most generally from the respect or deference which all men feel for great possessions. This is frequently founded in self-interest and expectations of advantage; but it is natural to man, and perhaps springs from our instinctive sympathy with the satisfactions of others—we are unwilling to disturb them, and even wish to promote them.

But this subordination may arise, and has often arisen, from other causes—from the love of power and influence, which makes some men *eager* to lead others, or even to manage their concerns. We see this every day, and it may be perfectly innocent. It often arises from the desire of gain of one kind or another.—This also may frequently be indulged with perfect innocence, and even with general advantage. Frequently, however, this subordination is produced by the love of power or of gain pushed to an immoderate degree of ambition, and rendered unjust. Now there arise oppression, tyranny, sufferings, and slavery. Now appears an opposition between the rights or claims of the ruler and of the

the people. Now the rulers come to conſider themſelves as a different claſs, and their tranſactions are now only with each other.—Prince becomes the rival or the enemy of Prince; and in their conteſts one prevails, and the dominion is enlarged. This rivalſhip may have begun in any rank of ſuperiors; even between the firſt managers of the affairs of the ſmalleſt communities; and it muſt be remarked that they only are the immediate gainers or loſers in the conteſt, while thoſe below them live at eaſe, enjoying many advantages of the delegation of their own concerns.

No human ſociety has ever proceeded purely in either of theſe two ways, but there has always been a mixture of both.—But this proceſs is indiſpenſably neceſſary for the formation of a great nation, and for all the conſequences that reſult only from ſuch a coalition.—Therefore it is neceſſary for giving riſe to all thoſe comforts, and luxuries, and elegances, which are to be found only in great and cultivated ſtates. It is neceſſary for producing ſuch enjoyments as we ſee around us in Europe, which we prize ſo highly, and for which we are making all this ſtir and diſturbance. I believe that no man who expects to be believed will poſitively aſſert that human nature and human enjoyments are not meliorated by this cultivation. —It ſeems to be the intention of nature, and, notwithſtanding the follies and vices of many, we can

have

have little hesitation in saying that there are in the most cultivated nations of Europe, and even in the highest ranks of those nations, men of great virtue and worth, and of high accomplishment—Nor can we deny that such men are the finest specimens of human nature. Rousseau indeed wrote a whimsical pamphlet, in which he had the vanity to think that he had proved that all these fruits of cultivation were losses to humanity and to virtue—Yet Rousseau could not be contented with the society of the rude and unpolished, although he pretended that he was almost the sole worshipper of pure virtue.—He supported himself, not by assisting the simple peasant, but by writing music and lascious novels for the pampered rich.

This is the circumstance entirely overlooked, or artfully kept out of sight, in the boasted Illumination of these days. No attention is paid to the important changes which have happened in national greatness, in national connection, in national improvement—yet we never think of parting with any of the advantages, real or imaginary, which these changes have produced—nor do we reflect that in order to keep a great nation together—to make it act with equality, or with preponderancy, among other nations, the individual exertions must be concentrated, must be directed—and that this requires a ruler vested with supreme power, and *interested by some great and endearing motive*, such as

as hereditary poſſeſſion of this power and influence, to maintain and defend this coalition of men. —All this is overlooked, and we attend only to the ſubordination which is indiſpenſably neceſſary. Its grievances are immediately felt, and they are heightened tenfold by a delicacy or ſenſibility which ſprings from the great improvements in the accommodations and enjoyments of life, which the gradual uſurpation and ſubſequent ſubordination have produced, and continue to ſupport. But we are determined to have the elegance and grandeur of a palace without the prince.—We will not give up any of our luxuries and refinements, yet will not ſupport thoſe high ranks and thoſe nice minds which produced them, and which muſt continue to keep them from degenerating into barbarous ſimplicity and coarſe ſenſuality.—We would keep the philoſophers, the poets, the artiſts, but not the Mæcenaſes.—It is very true that in ſuch a ſtate there would be no *Conjuration des Philoſophes;* for in ſuch a ſtate this vermin of *philoſophes* and ſcribblers would not have exiſted. —In ſhort, we would have what is impoſſible.

I have no heſitation in ſaying, that the Britiſh Conſtitution is the form of government *for a great and refined nation*, in which the ruling ſentiments and propenſities of human nature ſeem moſt happily blended and balanced. There is no occaſion to vaunt it as the ancient rights of Britons,

tons, the wiſdom of ages, &c. It has attained its preſent pitch of perfection by degrees, and this not by the efforts of wiſdom, but by the ſtruggles of vice and folly, working on a rich fund of good nature, and of manly ſpirit, that are conſpicuous in the Britiſh character. I do not heſitate to ſay that it is the *only* form of government which will admit and give full exerciſe to all the reſpectable propenſities of our nature, with the leaſt chance of diſturbance, and the greateſt probability of man's arriving at the higheſt pitch of improvement in every thing that raiſes him above the beaſts of the field. Yet there is no part of it that may not, that is not, abuſed, by puſhing it to an improper length, and the ſame watchful care is neceſſary for preſerving our ineſtimable bleſſings that was employed in acquiring them.—This is to be done, not by flying at once to an abſtract theory of the rights of man.—There is an evident folly in this procedure. What is this theory? It is the beſt general ſketch that we can draw of ſocial life, deduced from our knowledge of human nature.—And what is this knowledge? It is a well digeſted abſtract, or rather a declaration *of what we have obſerved* of human actions. What is the uſe therefore of this intermediate picture, this theory of the rights of man?—It has a chance of being unlike the original—it muſt certainly have imperfections.—Therefore it can be of no uſe to us.—We ſhould go at once to the original—we ſhould

ſhould conſider how men *have acted*—what *have* been their mutual expectations—their fond propenſities—what of theſe are inconſiſtent with each other—what are the degrees of indulgence which *have been* admitted in them all without diſturbance. —I will venture to ſay that whoever does this, will find himſelf imperceptibly led to contemplate a mixed hereditary monarchy, and will figure to himſelf a parliament of King, Lords, and Commons, all looking at each other with ſomewhat of a cautious or jealous eye, while the reſt of the nation are ſitting, "each under his own vine, and "under his own fig-tree, and there is none to "make him afraid;"—in one word, the Conſtitution of Great Britain.

A moſt valuable reſult of ſuch contemplation will be a thorough conviction that the grievance which is moſt clamorouſly inſiſted on is the inevitable conſequence of the liberty and ſecurity which we enjoy. I mean miniſterial corruption, with all the diſmal tale of placemen, and penſioners, and rotten boroughs, &c. &c. Theſe are never ſeen in a deſpotic government—there they are not wanted—nor can they be very apparent in an uncultivated and poor ſtate—but in a luxurious nation, where pleaſures abound, where the returns of induſtry are ſecure; here an individual looks on every thing as his own acquiſition—he does not *feel* his relation to the ſtate—has no patriotiſm —thinks that he would be much happier if the

ſtate

ſtate would let him alone.—He is fretted by the reſtraints which the public weal lays on him—therefore government and governors appear as checks and hindrances to his exertions—hence a general inclination to reſiſt adminiſtration.—Yet public buſineſs muſt be done, that we may lie down and riſe again in ſafety and peace.—Adminiſtration muſt be ſupported—there are always perſons who wiſh to poſſeſs the power that is exerciſed by the preſent miniſters, and would turn them out.—How is all this to be remedied?—I ſee no way but by applying to the ſelfiſh views of individuals—by rewarding the friends of adminiſtration—This may be done with perfect virtue—and from this the ſelfiſh will conceives hopes, and will ſupport a virtuous miniſtry—but they are as ready to help a wicked one.—This becomes the greateſt misfortune of a free nation.—Miniſters are tempted to bribe—and, if a ſyſtematic oppoſition be conſidered as a neceſſary part of a practical conſtitution, it is almoſt indiſpenſable—and it is no where ſo prevalent as in a pure democracy.—Laws may be contrived to make it very troubleſome—but can never extirpate it, nor greatly diminiſh it—this can be done only by deſpotiſm, or by national virtue.—It is a ſhameful complaint—we ſhould not reprobate a few miniſters, but the thouſands who take the bribes.—Nothing tends ſo much to diminiſh it in a corrupted nation as great

limitations

limitations to the eligibility of repreſentatives—and this is the beauty of our conſtitution.

We have not diſcovered, therefore, by this boaſted Illumination, that Princes and ſuperiors are uſeleſs, and muſt vaniſh from the earth; nor that the people have now attained full age, and are fit to govern themſelves. We want only to revel for a little on the laſt fruits of national cultivation, which we would quickly conſume, and never allow to be raiſed again.—No matter how this progreſs began, whether from conceſſion or uſurpation—We poſſeſs it, and if wiſe, we will preſerve it, by preſerving its indiſpenſable ſupports. They have indeed been frequently employed very improperly, but their moſt pernicious abuſe has been this breed of ſcribbling vermin, which have made the body-politic ſmart in every limb.

Hear what opinion was entertained of the ſages of France by their Prince, the Father of Louis XVI. the unfortunate martyr of Monarchy. "By the principles of our new Philoſophers, "the Throne no longer wears the ſplendour of "divinity. They maintain that it aroſe from "violence, and that by the ſame juſtice that "force erected it, force may again ſhake it, and "overturn it. The people can never give up "their power. They only let it out for their "own advantage, and always retain the right to "reſcind

" reſcind the contract, and reſume it whenever " their perſonal advantage, their only rule of " conduct, requires it. Our philoſophers teach " in public what our paſſions ſuggeſt only in " ſecret. They ſay to the Prince that all is per- " mitted only when all is in his power, and " that his duty is fulfilled when he has pleaſed " his fancy. Then, ſurely, if the laws of ſelf- " intereſt, that is, the ſelf-will of human paſ- " ſions, ſhall be ſo generally admitted, that we " thereupon forget the eternal laws of God and " of Nature, all conceptions of right and wrong, " of virtue and vice, of good and evil, muſt be " extirpated from the human heart. The throne " muſt totter, the ſubjects muſt become un- " manageable and mutinous, and their ruler " hard-hearted and inhuman. The people will be " inceſſantly either oppreſſed, or in an uproar."— " What ſervice will it be if I order ſuch a book " to be burnt?—the author can write another by " to-morrow." This opinion of a Prince is unpoliſhed indeed, and homely, but it is juſt.

Weiſhaupt grants that " there will be a ter- " rible convulſion, and a ſtorm—but this will " be ſucceeded by a calm—the unequal will now " be equal—and when the cauſe of diſſenſion is " thus removed, the world will be in peace."— True, when the cauſes of diſſenſion are removed. Thus, the deſtruction of our crop by vermin is

at an end when a flood has ſwept every thing away—but as new plants will ſpring up in the waſte, and, if not inſtantly devoured, will again cover the ground with verdure, ſo the induſtry of man, and his deſire of comfort and conſideration, will again accumulate in the hands of the diligent a greater proportion of the good things of life. In this infant ſtate of the emerging remains of former cultivation, comforts, which the preſent inhabitants of Europe would look on with contempt, will be great, improper, and hazardous acquiſitions. The principles which authoriſe the propoſed dreadful equaliſation will as juſtly entitle the idle or unſucceſsful of future days to ſtrip the poſſeſſor of his advantages, and things muſt ever remain on their ſavage level.

III. I think that the impreſſion which the inſincerity of conduct of thoſe inſtructors will leave on the mind, muſt be highly uſeful. They are evidently teaching what they do not believe themſelves—and here I do not confine my remark to their preparatory doctrines, which they afterwards explode. I make it chiefly with reſpect to their grand oſtenſible principle, which pervades the whole, a principle which they are obliged to adopt againſt their will.—They know that the principles of virtue are rooted in the heart, and that they can only be ſmothered—but did they pretend to eradicate them, and proclaim

claim *hominem homini lupum*, all would ſpurn at their inſtruction.—We are wheedled, by tickling our fancy with a notion that ſacred virtue is not only ſecure, but that it is only in ſuch hearts that it exerts its native energy. Senſible that the levelling maxims now ſpoken of are revolting to the mind, the Illuminators are under the neceſſity of keeping us from looking at the ſhocking picture, by diſplaying a beautiful ſcene of Utopian happineſs—and they rock us aſleep by the eternal lullaby of morality and univerſal philanthropy. Therefore the foregoing narration of the perſonal conduct of theſe inſtructors and reformers of the world, is highly uſeful. All this is to be brought about by the native lovelineſs of pure virtue, purged of the corruptions which ſuperſtitious fears have introduced, and alſo purged of the ſelfiſh thoughts which are avowed by the advocates of what their opponents call true religion. This is ſaid to hold forth eternal rewards to the good, and to threaten the wicked with dreadful puniſhment. Experience has ſhown how inefficient ſuch motives are. Can they be otherwiſe? ſay our Illuminators. Are they not addreſſed to a principle that is ungenerous and ſelfiſh? But our doctrines, ſay they, touch the hearts of the worthy. Virtue is beloved for her own ſake, and all will yield to her gentle ſway.

But look, Reader, look at Spartacus the murderer—at Cato the keeper of poiſons and the thief—Look at Tiberius, at Alcibiades, and the reſt of the Bavarian Pandemonium.—Look at Poor Bahrdt.—Go to France—look at Lequinio—at Condorcet*.—Look at the Monſter Orleans. ——All were liars. Their divinity had no influence on their profligate minds. They only wanted to wheedle you, by touching the ſtrings of humanity and goodneſs which are yet braced up in your heart, and which will ſtill yield ſweet harmony if you will accompany their notes with thoſe of religion, and neither clog them with the groveling pleaſures of ſenſe, nor damp the whole with the thought of eternal ſilence.

A moſt worthy and accompliſhed gentleman, who took refuge in this country, leaving behind him his property, and friends to whom he was moſt tenderly attached, often ſaid to me that nothing ſo much affected him as the revolution in the hearts of men.—Characters which were

* De la Metherie ſays, (*Journ. de Phyſ. Nov.* 1792,) that Condorcet was brought up in the houſe of the old Duke of Rochefoucault, who treated him as his ſon—got Turgot to create a lucrative office for him, and raiſed him to all his eminence—yet he purſued him with malicious reports—and actually employed ruffians to aſſaſſinate him. Yet is Condorcet's writing a model of humanity and tenderneſs.

unſpotted,

unſpotted, hearts thoroughly known to himſelf, having been tried by many things which ſearch the inmoſt folds of ſelfiſhneſs or malevolence—in ſhort, perſons whoſe judgments were excellent, and on whoſe worth he could have reſted his honour and his life, ſo faſcinated by the contagion, that they came at laſt to behold, and even to commit the moſt atrocious crimes with delight.—He uſed ſometimes to utter a ſigh which pierced my heart, and would ſay, that it was cauſed by ſome of thoſe things that had come acroſs his thoughts. He breathed his laſt among us, declaring that it was impoſſible to recover peace of mind, without a total oblivion of the wickedneſs and miſeries he had beheld.——What a valuable advice, "Let him that think-"eth he ſtandeth, take heed leſt he fall."—When the prophet told Hazael that he would betray his Prince, he exclaimed, "Is thy ſervant "a dog, that he ſhould do ſuch a thing?" Yet next day he murdered him.

Never ſince the beginning of the world, has true religion received ſo complete an acknowledgment of her excellence, as has been extorted from the fanatics who have attempted to deſtroy her. Religion ſtood in their way, and the wretch Marat, as well as the ſteady villain Weiſhaupt,

ſhaupt, ſaw that they could not proceed till they had eradicated all ſentiments of the moral government of the univerſe. Human nature, improved as it has been by Religion, ſhrunk from the taſks that were impoſed, and it muſt therefore be brutalized—The grand confederation was ſolemnly ſworn to by millions in every corner of France—but, as Mirabeau ſaid of the declaration of the Rights of Man, it muſt be made only the "Almanack of the bygone year"—Therefore Lequinio muſt write a book, declaring oaths to be nonſenſe, unworthy of Sans Culottes, and all religion to be a farce.—Not long after, they found that they had ſome uſe for a God—but he was gone—and they could not find another.—Their conſtitution was gone—and they have not yet found another.—What is now left them on which they can depend for awing a man into a reſpect for truth in his judicial declarations?—what but the honour of a Citizen of France, who laughs at all engagements, which he has broken again and again?—Religion has taken off with her every ſenſe of human duty.—What can we expect but villany from an Archbiſhop of Paris and his chapter, who made a public profeſſion that they had been playing the villains for many years, teaching what they thought to be a bundle

bundle of lies? What but the very thing which they haved one, cutting each other's throats?—Have not the enlightened citizens of France applauded the execution of their fathers? Have not the furies of Paris denounced their own children?—But turn your eyes from the horrifying ſpectacle, and think on your own noble deſcent and alliance. You are not the accidental productions of a fatal chaos, but the work of a Great Artiſt, creatures that are cared for, born to noble proſpects, and conducted to them by the plaineſt and moſt ſimple precepts, "to do juſtly, to love "mercy, and to walk humbly before God," not bewildered by the falſe and fluttering glare of French Philoſophy, but conducted by this clear, ſingle light, perceivable by all, "Do to others "what you ſhould reaſonably expect them to do "to you."

Think not the Muſe whoſe ſober voice you hear,
Contracts with bigot frown her ſullen brow,
Caſts round Religion's orb the miſts of Fear,
Or ſhades with horror what with ſmiles ſhould glow.

No—ſhe would warn you with ſeraphic fire,
Heirs as ye are of Heaven's eternal day,
Would bid you boldly to that Heaven aſpire,
Not ſink and ſlumber in your cells of clay.

Is this the bigot's rant? Away, ye vain,
Your doubts, your fears, in gloomy dulneſs ſteep;
Go—ſoothe your ſouls in ſickneſs, death, or pain,
With the ſad ſolace of eternal ſleep.

Yet know, vain ſceptics, know, th' Almighty Mind,
Who breath'd on man a portion of his fire,
Bade his free ſoul, by earth nor time confin'd,
To Heaven, to immortality aſpire.

Nor ſhall this pile of hope his bounty rear'd,
By vain philoſophy be e'er deſtroy'd;
Eternity, by all or hop'd or fear'd,
Shall be by all or ſuffer'd or enjoy'd.

MASON.

The unfortunate Prince who has taken refuge in this kingdom, and whoſe ſituation among us is an illuſtrious mark of the generoſity of the nation, and of the ſovereignty of its laws, ſaid to one of the Gentlemen about him, that "if this country was to eſcape the general "wreck of nations, it would owe its preſerva-"tion to Religion."—When this was doubted, and it was obſerved, that there had not been wanting many Religioniſts in France: "True," ſaid the Prince, "but they were not in earneſt. "—I ſee here a ſerious intereſt in the thing. "The people know what they are doing when "they

" they go to church—they underſtand ſomething " of it, and take an intereſt in it." May his obſervation be juſt, and his expectations be fulfilled!

IV. I would again call upon my countrywomen with the moſt earneſt concern, and beſeech them to conſider this ſubject as of more particular importance to themſelves than even to the men.—While woman is conſidered as a reſpectable moral agent, training along with ourſelves for endleſs improvement; then, and only then, will ſhe be conſidered by lordly man as his equal;—then, and only then, will ſhe be allowed to have any rights, and thoſe rights be reſpected. Strip women of this prerogative, and they become the drudges of man's indolence, or the pampered playthings of his idle hours, ſubject to his caprices, and ſlaves to his mean paſſions. Soon will their preſent empire of gallantry be over. It is a refinement of manners which ſprang from Chriſtianity; and when Chriſtianity is forgotten, this artificial diadem will be taken from their heads, and, unleſs they adopt the ferocious ſentiments of their Gallic neighbours, and join in the general uproar, they will ſink into the inſignificance of the women in the turbulent republics of Greece, where they are never ſeen in the buſy haunts of men, if we except four or five,

five, who, during the courſe of as many centuries, emerged from the general obſcurity, and appear in the hiſtoric page, by their uncommon talents, and by the ſacrifice of what my fair countrywomen ſtill hold to be the ornament of their ſex. I would remind them, that they have it in their power to retain their preſent honourable ſtation in ſociety. They are our early inſtructors; and while mothers in the reſpectable ſtations of life continued to inculcate on the tender minds of their ſons a veneration for the precepts of Religion, their pliant children, receiving their inſtructions along with the affectionate careſſes of their mothers, got impreſſions which long retained their force, and which protected them from the impulſes of youthful paſſions, till ripening years fitted their minds for liſtening to ſerious inſtruction from their public teachers. Sobriety and decency of manners were then no ſlur on the character of a youth, and he was thought capable of ſtruggling for independence, or pre-eminence, fit either for ſupporting or defending the ſtate, although he was neither a toper nor a rake. I believe that no man who has ſeen thirty or forty years of life will deny that the manners of youth are ſadly changed in this reſpect. And, without preſuming to ſay that this has proceeded from the neglect,

glect, and almoſt total ceſſation of the moral education of the nurſery, I think myſelf well warranted, from my own obſervation, to ſay that this education and the ſober manners of young men have quitted us together.

Some will call this prudery, and croaking. But I am almoſt tranſcribing from Cicero, and from Quintilian.—Cornelia, Aurelia, Attia, and other ladies of the firſt rank, are praiſed by Cicero only for their *eminence* in this reſpect; but not becauſe they were *ſingular*. Quintilian ſays, that in the time immediately prior to his own, it had been the general practice of the ladies of rank to ſuperintend the moral education both of ſons and daughters. But of late, ſays he, they are ſo engaged in continual and corrupting amuſements, ſuch as the ſhows of gladiators, horſe-racing, and deep play, that they have no time, and have yielded their places to Greek governeſſes and tutors, outcaſts of a nation more ſubdued by their own vices than by the Roman arms.—I dare ſay this was laughed at, as croaking about the corruption of the age. But what was the conſequence of all this?—The Romans became the moſt abandoned voluptuaries, and, to preſerve their mean pleaſures, they crouched as willing ſlaves to a ſucceſſion of the vileſt tyrants that ever diſgraced humanity.

What

What a noble fund of self-estimation would our fair partners acquire to themselves, if, by reforming the manners of the young generation, they should be the means of restoring peace to the world! *They have it in their power*, by the renewal of the good old custom of early instruction, and perhaps still more, by impressing on the minds of their daughters the same sentiments, and obliging them to respect sobriety and decency in the youth, and pointedly to withhold their smiles and civilities from all who transgress these, in the smallest degree. This is a method of proceeding that *will most certainly be victorious*. Then indeed will the women be the saviours of their country. While therefore the German fair have been repeatedly branded with having welcomed the French invaders *, let our Ladies stand up for the honour of free-born Britons, by turning against the pretended enlighteners of the world, the arms which nature has put into their hands, and which those profligates have presumptuously expected to employ in extending their influence over mankind. The empire of

* I have met with this charge in many places; and one book in particular, written by a Prussian General Officer, who was in the country over-run by the French troops, gives a detail of the conduct of the women that is very remarkable. He also says that infidelity has become very prevalent among the ladies in the higher circles. Indeed this melancholy account is to be found in many passages of the private correspondence of the *Illuminati*.

beauty is but ſhort, but the empire of virtue is durable; nor is there an inſtance to be met with of its decline. If it be yet poſſible to reform the world, it is poſſible for the fair. By the conſtitution of human nature, they muſt always appear as the ornament of life, and be the objects of fondneſs and affection; ſo that if any thing can make head againſt the ſelfiſh and overbearing diſpoſitions of man, it is his reſpectful regard for the ſex. But mere fondneſs has but little of the rational creature in it, and we ſee it harbour every day in the breaſt that is filled with the meaneſt and moſt turbulent paſſions. No where is it ſo ſtrong as in the harems of the Eaſt; and as long as the women aſk nothing of the men but fondneſs and admiration, they will get nothing elſe—they will never be reſpected. But let them rouſe themſelves, aſſert their dignity, by ſhewing their own elevated ſentiments of human nature, and by acting up to this claim, and they may then command the world.

V. Another good conſequence that ſhould reſult from the account that has been given of the proceedings of this conſpiracy is, that ſince the faſcinating picture of human life, by which men have been wheedled into immediate anarchy and rebellion, is inſincere, and a mere artificial creature of the imagination, it can have no ſteadineſs, but muſt be changed by every freak of fancy, or

by

by every ingenious ſophiſt, who can give an equal plauſibility to whatever ſuits his preſent views. It is as much an airy phantom as any other whim of Free Maſonry, and has no prototype, no original pattern in human nature, to which recourſe may always be had, to correct miſtakes, and keep things in a conſtant tenor. Has not France given the moſt enequivocal proofs of this? Was not the declaration of the Rights of Man, the production of their moſt brilliant Illuminators, a picture *in abſtracto*, where man was placed at a diſtance from the eye, that no falſe light of local ſituation might pervert the judgment or engage the paſſions? Was it not declared to be the maſterpiece of human wiſdom? Did not the nation conſider it at leiſure? and having it continually before their eyes, did they not, ſtep by ſtep, give their aſſent to the different articles of their Conſtitution, derived from it, and fabricated by their moſt choice Illuminators? And did not this Conſtitution draw the applauſes of the bright geniuſes of other nations, who by this time were buſy in perſuading, each his countrymen, that they were ignoramuſes in ſtatiſtics, and patient ſlaves of oppreſſion or of ancient prejudices? Did not panegyrics on it iſſue from every garret in London? Where is it now? where is its ſucceſſor? Has any one plan of government ſubſiſted, except while it was ſupported by the incontrollable and inexorable

inexorable power of the guillotine? Is not the preſent adminiſtration of France as much as ever the object of diſcontent and of terror, and its coercions as like as ever to the ſummary juſtice of the Pariſian mob? Is there any probability of its permanency in a ſtate of peace, when the fears of a foreign enemy no longer give a conſolidation to their meaſures, and oblige them either to agree among themſelves, or immediately to periſh?

VI. The above accounts evince in the moſt uncontrovertible manner the dangerous tendency of all myſtical ſocieties, and of all aſſociations who hold ſecret meetings. We ſee that their uniform progreſs has been from frivolity and nonſenſe to wickedneſs and ſedition. Weiſhaupt has been at great pains to ſhow the good effects of ſecrecy in the Aſſociation, and the arguments are valid for his purpoſe.—But all his arguments are ſo many diſſuaſive advices to every thinking and ſober mind. The man who really wiſhes to diſcover an abſtruſe truth will place himſelf, if poſſible, in a *calm* ſituation, and will by no means expoſe himſelf to the impatient hankering for ſecrets and wonders—and he will always fear that a thing which reſolutely conceals itſelf cannot bear the light. All who have ſeriouſly employed themſelves in the diſcovery of truth have found the great advantages of open communication of

ſentiment.

ſentiment. And it is againſt common ſenſe to imagine that there is any thing of vaſt importance to mankind which is yet a ſecret, and which muſt be kept a ſecret in order to be uſeful. This is againſt the whole experience of mankind—And ſurely to hug in one's breaſt a ſecret of ſuch mighty importance, is to give the lie to all our profeſſions of brotherly love. What a ſoleciſm! a ſecret to enlighten and reform the whole world.—We render all our endeavours impotent when we graſp at a thing beyond our power. Let an aſſociation be formed with a ſerious plan for reforming its own members, and let them extend their numbers in proportion as they ſucceed—this might do ſome good.—But muſt the way of doing this be a ſecret?—It may be to many—who will not look for it where it is to be found—It is this:

"Do good,—ſeek peace,—and purſue it."

But it is almoſt affronting the reader to ſuppoſe arguments neceſſary on this point. If there be a neceſſity for ſecrecy, the purpoſe of the Aſſociation is either frivolous, or it is ſelfiſh.

Now, in either caſe, the danger of ſuch ſecret aſſemblies is manifeſt.—Mere frivolity can never ſeriouſly occupy men come to age. And accordingly we ſee that in every quarter of Europe where Free Maſonry has been eſtabliſhed, the Lodges

Lodges have become ſeedbeds of public miſchief. I believe that no ordinary Brother will ſay that the occupations in the Lodges are any thing better than frivolous, very frivolous indeed. The diſtribution of charity needs be no ſecret, and it is but a very ſmall part of the employment of the meeting.—This being the caſe, it is in human nature that the greater we ſuppoſe the frivolity of ſuch an aſſociation to be, the greater is the chance of its ceaſing to give ſufficient occupation to the mind, and the greater is the riſk that the meetings may be employed to other purpoſes which require concealment. When this happens, ſelf-intereſt alone muſt prompt and rule, and now there is no length that ſome men will not go, when they think themſelves in no danger of detection and puniſhment. The whole proceedings of the ſecret ſocieties of Free Maſons on the Continent (and I am authoriſed to ſay, of ſome Lodges in Britain) have taken one turn, and this turn is perfectly natural. In all countries there are men of licentious morals. Such men wiſh to have a ſafe opportunity of indulging their wits in ſatire and ſarcaſm; and they are pleaſed with the ſupport of others.—The deſire of making proſelytes is in every breaſt—and it is whetted by the reſtraints of ſociety.—And all countries have diſcontented men, whoſe grumblings will raiſe diſcontent in others, who might not have attended to ſome of

the trifling hardſhips and injuries they met with, had they not been reminded of them. To be diſcontented, and not to think of ſchemes of redreſs, is what we cannot think natural or manly;—and where can ſuch ſentiments and ſchemes find ſuch ſafe utterance and ſuch probable ſupport as in a ſecret ſociety? Free Maſonry is innocent of all theſe things; but Free Maſonry has been abuſed, and at laſt totally perverted—and ſo will and muſt any ſuch ſecret aſſociation, as long as men are licentious in their opinions or wicked in their diſpoſitions.

It were devoutly to be wiſhed therefore that the whole Fraternity would imitate the truly benevolent conduct of thoſe German Lodges who have formally broken up, and made a patriotic ſacrifice of their amuſement to the ſafety of the ſtate. I cannot think the ſacrifice great or coſtly. It can be no difficult matter to find as pleaſant a way of paſſing a vacant hour—and the charitable deeds of the members need not diminiſh in the ſmalleſt degree. Every perſon's little circle of acquaintance will give him opportunities of gratifying his kind diſpoſitions, without the chance of being miſtaken in the worth of the perſon on whom he beſtows his favours. There is no occaſion to go to St. Peterſburg for a poor Brother, nor to India for a convert to Chriſtianity, as long as we ſee ſo many ſufferers and infidels among ourſelves.

But

But not only are ſecret ſocieties dangerous, but all ſocieties whoſe object is myſterious. The whole hiſtory of man is a proof of this poſition. In no age or country has there ever appeared a myſterious aſſociation which did not in time become a public nuiſance. Ingenious or deſigning men of letters have attempted to ſhow that ſome of the ancient myſteries were uſeful to mankind, containing rational doctrines of natural religion. This was the ſtrong hold of Weiſhaupt, and he quotes the Eleuſinian, the Pythagorean, and other myſteries. But ſurely their external ſigns and tokens were every thing that is ſhocking to decency and civil order. It is uncommon preſumption for the learned of the 18th century to pretend to know more about them than their contemporaries, the philoſophers, the lawgivers of antiquity. Theſe give no ſuch account of them. I would deſire any perſon who admires the ingenious diſſertations of Dr. Warburton to read a dull German book, called *Caracteriſtik der Myſterien der Altern*, publiſhed at Frankfort in 1787. The author contents himſelf with a patient collection of every ſcrap of every ancient author who has ſaid any thing about them. If the reader can ſee any thing in them but the moſt abſurd and immoral polytheiſm and fable, he muſt take words in a ſenſe that is uſeleſs in reading any other piece of ancient compoſition. I have a notion that the Dionyſiacs

of Ionia had ſome ſcientific ſecrets, viz. all the knowledge of practical mechanics which was employed by their architects and engineers, and that they were really a Maſonic Fraternity. But, like the *Illuminati*, they tagged to the ſecrets of Maſonry the ſecret of drunkenneſs and debauchery; they had their Siſter Lodges, and at laſt became rebels, ſubverters of the States where they were protected, till aiming at the dominion of all Ionia, they were attacked by the neighbouring States, and diſperſed. They were Illuminators too, and wanted to introduce the worſhip of Bacchus over the whole country. Και τῳ Διονυσῳ την Ασιαν ὁλην καθιερωσαντες, μεχρι της Ινδικης. *Strabo.*—Perhaps the Pythagoreans had alſo ſome ſcientific ſecrets; but they too were Illuminators, and thought it their duty to overſet the State, and were themſelves overſet.

Nothing is ſo dangerous as a myſtic Aſſociation. The object remaining a ſecret in the hands of the managers, the reſt ſimply put a ring in their own noſes, by which they may be led about at pleaſure; and ſtill panting after the ſecret, they are the better pleaſed the leſs they ſee of their way. A myſtical object enables the leader to ſhift his ground as he pleaſes, and to accommodate himſelf to every current faſhion or prejudice. This again gives him almoſt unlimited power; for he can make uſe of theſe prejudices to lead men by troops. He finds them already aſſociated by their prejudices,

prejudices, and waiting for a leader to concentrate their ſtrength and ſet them in motion. And when once great bodies of men are ſet in motion, with a creature of their fancy for a guide, even the engineer himſelf cannot ſay, "Thus far ſhalt thou "go, and no farther."

VII. We may alſo gather from what we have ſeen, that all declamations on univerſal philanthropy are dangerous. Their natural and immediate effect on the mind is to increaſe the diſcontents of the unfortunate, and of thoſe in the laborious ranks of life. No one, even of the Illuminators, will deny that thoſe ranks muſt be filled, if ſociety exiſts in any degree of cultivation whatever, and that there will always be a greater number of men who have no farther proſpect. Surely it is unkind to put ſuch men continually in mind of a ſtate in which they might be at their eaſe; and it is unkindneſs unmixed, becauſe all the change that they will produce will be, that James will ſerve John, who formerly was the ſervant of James. Such declamations naturally tend to cauſe men to make light of the obligations and duties of common patriotiſm, becauſe theſe are repreſented as ſubordinate and inferior to the greater and more noble affection of univerſal benevolence. I do not pretend to ſay that patriotiſm is founded in a rationally perceived pre-emi-

nence or excellence of the ſociety with which we are connected. But if it be a fact that ſociety will not advance unleſs its members take an intereſt in it, and that human nature improves only in ſociety, ſurely this intereſt ſhould be cheriſhed in every breaſt. Perhaps national union ariſes from national animoſity;—but they are plainly diſtinguiſhable, and union is not neceſſarily productive of injuſtice. The ſame arguments that have any force againſt patriotiſm are equally good againſt the preference which natural inſtinct gives parents for their children; and ſurely no one can doubt of the propriety of maintaining this in its full force, ſubject however to the preciſe laws of juſtice.

But I am in the wrong to adduce paternal or filial affection in defence of patriotiſm and loyalty, ſince even thoſe natural inſtincts are reprobated by the *Illuminati*, as hoſtile to the all-comprehending philanthropy. Mr. de la Metherie ſays, that among the memorials ſent from the clubs in England to the National Aſſembly, he read two, (printed,) in which the Aſſembly was requeſted to eſtabliſh a community of wives, and to take children from their parents, and educate them for the nation. In full compliance with this dictate of univerſal philanthropy, Weiſhaupt would have murdered his own child and his concubine,—and Orleans voted the death of his near relation.

Indeed'

Indeed, of all the conſequences of Illumination, the moſt melancholy is this revolution which it ſeems to operate in the heart of man,—this forcible ſacrifice of every affection of the heart to an ideal divinity, a mere creature of the imagination. —It ſeems a prodigy, yet it is a matter of experience, that the farther we advance, or vainly ſuppoſe that we do advance, in the knowledge of our mental powers, the more are our moral feelings flattened and done away. I remember reading, long ago, a diſſertation on the nurſing of infants by a French academician, Le Cointre of Verſailles. He indelicately ſupports his theories by the caſe of his own ſon, a weak puny infant, whom his mother was obliged to keep continually applied to her boſom, ſo that ſhe rarely could get two hours of ſleep during the time of ſuckling him. Mr. Le Cointre ſays, that ſhe contracted for this infant "*une partialité tout-à-fait deraiſonable.*"— Plato, or Socrates, or Cicero, would probably have explained this by the habitual exerciſe of pity, a very endearing emotion.—But our Academician, better illuminated, ſolves it by ſtimuli on the *papillæ*, and on the nerves of the ſkin, and by the meeting of the humifying *aura*, &c. and does not ſeem to think that young Le Cointre was much indebted to his mother. It would amuſe me to learn that this was the wretch Le Cointre, Major of the National Guards of Verſailles, who

countenanced and encouraged the ſhocking treaſon and barbarity of thoſe ruffians on the 5th and 6th of October 1789. Complete freezing of the heart would (I think) be the conſequence of a theory which could perfectly explain the affections by vibrations or cryſtallizations.—Nay, any very perfect theory of moral ſentiments muſt have ſomething of this tendency.—Perhaps the ancient ſyſtems of moral philoſophy, which were chiefly ſearches after the *ſummum bonum*, and ſyſtems of moral duties, tended more to form and ſtrengthen the heart, and produce a worthy man, than the moſt perfect theory of modern times, which explains every phenomenon by means of a nice anatomy of our affections.

So far therefore as we are really more illuminated, it may chance to give us an eaſier victory over the natural or inſtinctive attachments of mankind, and make the ſacrifice to univerſal philanthropy leſs coſtly to the heart. I do not however pretend to ſay that this is really the caſe; but I think myſelf fully warranted to ſay, that increaſe of virtuous affections in general has not been the fruit of modern Illumination. I will not again ſicken the reader, by calling his attention to Weiſhaupt and his aſſociates or ſucceſſors. But let us candidly contemplate the world around us, and particularly the perpetual advocates of univerſal philanthropy. What have

been the general effects of their continual declamations? Surely very melancholy; nor can it eaſily be otherwiſe.—An ideal ſtandard is continually referred to. This is made gigantic, by being always ſeen indiſtinctly, as through a miſt, or rather a fluttering air. In compariſon with this, every feeling that we have been accuſtomed to reſpect vaniſhes as inſignificant; and, adopting the Jeſuitical maxim, that "the great end ſanctifies "every mean," this ſum of Coſmo-political good is made to eclipſe or cover all the preſent evils which muſt be endured for it. The fact now is, that we are become ſo familiariſed with enormities, ſuch as brutality to the weaker ſex, cruelty to old age, wanton refinement on barbarity, that we now hear unmoved accounts of ſcenes, from which, a few years ago, we would have ſhrunk back with horror. With cold hearts, and a metaphyſical ſcale, we meaſure the preſent miſeries of our fellow-creatures, and compare them with the accumulated miſeries of former times, occaſioned through a courſe of ages, and aſcribed to the ambition of Princes. In this artificial manner are the atrocities of France extenuated; and we ſtruggle, and partly ſucceed, in reaſoning ourſelves out of all the feelings which link men together in ſociety.—The ties of father, huſband, brother, friend,—all are abandoned for an emotion which we muſt even ſtrive to excite,—univerſal philan-

philanthropy. But this is ſad perverſion of nature. "He that loveth not his brorher whom he "hath ſeen, how can he love God whom he hath "not ſeen?"—Still leſs can he love this ideal being, of which he labours to conjure up ſome indiſtinct and fleeting notion. It is alſo highly abſurd; for, in trying to collect the circumſtances which conſtitute the enjoyments of this Citizen of the World, we find ourſelves juſt brought back to the very moral feelings which we are wantonly throwing away. Weiſhaupt allures us by the happineſs of the patriarchal life as the *ſummum bonum* of man. But if it is any thing more than eating and ſleeping, and ſquabbling with the neigbouring patriarchs, it muſt conſiſt in the domeſtic and neighbourly affections, and every other agreeable moral feeling, all which are to be had in our preſent ſtate in greater abundance.

But this is all a pretence;—the wicked corrupters of mankind have no ſuch views of human felicity, nor would they be contented with it;—they want to intrigue and to lead; and their patriarchal life anſwers the ſame purpoſe of tickling the fancy as the Arcadia of the poets. Horace ſhows the frivolity of theſe declamations, without formally enouncing the moral, in his pretty Ode,

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis.

The

The uſurer, after expatiating on this Arcadian felicity, hurries away to change, and puts his whole caſh again out to uſury.

Equally ineffective are the declamations of Coſmo-politiſm on a mind filled with ſelfiſh paſſions;—they juſt ſerve it for a ſubterfuge.—The ties of ordinary life are broken in the firſt place, and the Citizen of the World is a wolf of the deſert.

The unhappy conſequence is, that the natural progreſs of liberty is retarded. Had this *ignis fatuus* not appeared and miſled us, the improvements which true Illumination has really produced, the increaſe in ſciences and arts, and the improvement in our eſtimate of life and happineſs, would have continued to work ſilently and gradually in all nations; and thoſe which are leſs fortunate in point of government would alſo have improved, by little and little, without loſing any ſenſible portion of their preſent enjoyments in the poſſeſſion of riches, or honours, or power. Thoſe pretenſions would gradually have come to balance each other, and true liberty, ſuch as Britons enjoy, might have taken place over all.

Inſtead of this, the inhabitants of every State are put into a ſituation where every individual is alarmed and injured by the ſucceſs of another, becauſe all pre-eminence is criminal. Therefore there muſt be perpetual jealouſy and ſtruggle. Princes

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are now alarmed, ſince they ſee the aim of the lower claſſes, and they repent of their former liberal conceſſions. All parties maintain a ſullen diſtance and reſerve;—the people become unruly, and the Sovereign hard-hearted; ſo that liberty, ſuch as *can* be enjoyed in peace, is baniſhed from the country.

VIII. When we ſee how eagerly the Illuminati endeavoured to inſinuate their Brethren into all offices which gave them influence on the public mind, and particularly into ſeminaries of education, we ſhould be particularly careful to prevent them, and ought to examine with anxious attention the manner of thinking of all who offer themſelves for teachers of youth. There is no part of the ſecret correſpondence of Spartacus and his Aſſociates, in which we ſee more varied and artful methods for ſecuring pupils, than in his own conduct reſpecting the ſtudents in the Univerſity, and the injunctions he gives to others. There are two men, Socher and Drexl, who had the general inſpection of the ſchools in the Electorate. They are treated by Spartacus as perſons of the greateſt conſequence, and the inſtructions given them ſtick at no kind of corruption. Weiſhaupt is at pains, by circuitous and mean arts, to induce young gentlemen to come under his care, and, to one whom he deſcribes in another letter as a little maſter who muſt have much indulgence, he cauſes it to be intimated,

that

that in the quarters where he is to be lodged, he will get the key of the ſtreet-door, ſo that he can admit whom he will. In all this canvaſſing he never quits the great object, the forming the mind of the young man according to the principles of univerſal Liberty and Equality, and to gain this point, ſcruples not to flatter, and even to excite his dangerous paſſions. We may be certain, that the zeal of Coſmo-politiſm will operate in the ſame way in other men, and we ought therefore to be ſolicitous to have all that are the inſtructors of youth, perſons of the moſt decent manners. No queſtion but ſobriety and hypocriſy may inhabit the ſame breaſt. But its immediate effect on the pupil is at leaſt ſafe, and it is always eaſy for a ſenſible parent to repreſent the reſtrictions laid on the pupil by ſuch a man as the effects of uncommon anxiety for his ſafety. Whereas there is no cure for the lax principles that may ſteal upon the tender mind that is not early put on its guard. Weiſhaupt undoubtedly thought that the principles of civil anarchy would be eaſieſt inculcated on minds that had already ſhaken off the reſtraints of Religion, and entered into habits of ſenſual indulgence. We ſhall be ſafe if we truſt his judgment in this matter.—We ſhould be particularly obſervant of the character and principles of *Men of Talents*, who offer themſelves for theſe offices, becauſe

their

their influence muſt be very great. Indeed this anxiety ſhould extend to all offices which in any way give the holders any remarkable influence on the minds of conſiderable numbers. Such ſhould always be filled by men of immaculate characters and approved principles; and, in times like the preſent, where the moſt eſſential queſtions are the ſubjects of frequent diſcuſſion, we ſhould always conſider with ſome diſtruſt the men who are very cautious in declaring their opinions on theſe queſtions.

It is a great misfortune undoubtedly to feel ourſelves in a ſituation which makes us damp the enjoyments of life with ſo much ſuſpicion. But the hiſtory of mankind ſhows us that many great revolutions have been produced by remote and apparently frivolous cauſes. When things come to a height, it is frequently impoſſible to find a cure—at any rate *medicina ſero paratur*, and it is much better to prevent the diſeaſe—*principiis obſta —venienti occurrite morbo.*

IX. Nor can it be ſaid that theſe are vain fears. We know that the enemy is working among us, and that there are many appearances in theſe kingdoms which ſtrongly reſemble the contrivance of this dangerous aſſociation. We know that before the Order of Illuminati was broken up by the Elector of Bavaria, there were ſeveral Lodges in Britain, and we may be certain that they are not

not all broken up. I know that they are not, and that within these two years some Lodges were ignorant, or affected to be so, of the corrupted principles and dangerous designs of the Illuminati. The constitution of the Order shows that this may be, for the Lodges themselves were illuminated by degrees. But I must remark that we can hardly suppose a Lodge to be established in any place, unless there be some very zealous Brother at hand to instruct and direct it. And I think that a person can hardly be advanced as far as the rank of Scotch Knight of the Order, and be a safe man either for our church or state. I am very well informed that there are several thousands of subscribing Brethren in London alone, and we can hardly doubt but that many of that number are well advanced. The vocabulary also of the Illuminati is current in certain societies among us. These societies have taken the very name and constitution of the French and German societies. Corresponding—Affiliated—Provincial—Rescript—Convention—Reading Societies—Citizen of the World—Liberty and Equality, the Imprescriptible Rights of Man, &c. &c. And must it not be acknowledged that our public arbiters of literary merit have greatly changed their manner of treatment of theological and political writings of late years? Till Paine's Age of Reason appeared, the most sceptical writings of England

land kept within the bounds of decency and of argument, and we have not, in the courſe of two centuries, one piece that ſhould be compared with many of the blackguard productions of the German preſſes. Yet even thoſe performances generally met with ſharp reproof as well as judicious refutation. This is a tribute of commendation to which my country is moſt juſtly entitled. In a former part of my life I was pretty converſant in writings of this kind, and have ſeen almoſt every Engliſh performance of note. I cannot expreſs the ſurpriſe and diſguſt which I felt at the number and the groſs indecency of the German diſſertations which have come in my way ſince I began this little hiſtory,—and many of the titles which I obſerve in the Leipzig catalogues are ſuch as I think no Britiſh writer would make uſe of. I am told that the licentiouſneſs of the preſs has been equally remarkable in France, even before the Revolution.—May this ſenſe of propriety and decency long continue to protect us, and ſupport the national character for real good breeding, as our attainments in manly ſcience have hitherto gained us the reſpect of the ſurrounding nations!

I cannot help thinking that Britiſh ſentiment, or Britiſh delicacy, is changed; for Paine's book is treated by moſt of our Reviewers with an affected liberality and candour, and is laid before the public as quite new matter, and a fair field for diſcuſſion

diſcuſſion—and it ſtrikes me as if our critics were more careful to let no fault of his opponents paſs unnoticed than to expoſe the futility and rudeneſs of this indelicate writer. In the reviews of political writings we ſee few of thoſe kind endeavours, which real love for our conſtitutional government would induce a writer to employ in order to leſſen the fretful diſcontents of the people; and there is frequently betrayed a ſatisfaction at finding adminiſtration in ſtraits, either through miſconduct or misfortune. Real love for our country and its government would (I think) induce a perſon to mix with his criticiſms ſome ſentiments of ſympathy with the embarraſſment of a miniſter loaded with the buſineſs of a great nation, in a ſituation never before experienced by any miniſter. The critic would recollect that the miniſter was a man, ſubject to error, but not neceſſarily nor altogether baſe. But it ſeems to be an aſſumed principle with ſome of our political writers and reviewers that government muſt always be in fault, and that every thing needs a reform. Such were the beginnings on the continent, and we cannot doubt but that attempts are made to influence the public mind in this country, in the very way that has been practiſed abroad.—Nay,

X. The deteſtable doctrines of Illuminatiſm have been openly preached among us. Has not Dr. Prieſtley ſaid, (I think in one of his letters on

the Birmingham riots,) "That if the condition of "other nations be as much improved as that of "France will be by the change in her ſyſtem of "government, the great criſis, dreadful as it may "appear, will be a conſummation devoutly to be "wiſhed for;—and though calamitous to many, "perhaps to many innocent perſons, will be even-"tually glorious and happy?"—Is not this equivalent to Spartacus ſaying, "True—there will be "a ſtorm, a convulſion—but all will be calm "again?"—Does Dr. Prieſtley think that the Britiſh will part more eaſily than their neighbours in France with their property and honours, ſecured by ages of peaceable poſſeſſion, protected by law, and acquieſced in by all who wiſh and hope that their own deſcendants may reap the fruits of their honeſt induſtry?—Will they make a leſs manly ſtruggle?—Are they leſs numerous?—Muſt his friends, his patrons, whom he has thanked, and praiſed, and flattered, yield up all peaceably, or fall in the general ſtruggle? This writer has already given the moſt promiſing ſpecimens of his own docility in the principles of Illuminatiſm, and has already paſſed through ſeveral degrees of initiation. He has refined and refined on Chriſtianity, and boaſts, like another Spartacus, that he has, at laſt, hit on the true ſecret.—Has he not been preparing the minds of his readers for Atheiſm by his theory of mind, and by his commentary

tary on the unmeaning jargon of Dr. Hartley? I call it unmeaning jargon, that I may avoid giving it a more appoſite and diſgraceful name. For, if intelligence and deſign be nothing but a certain modification of the *vibratiunculæ* or undulations of any kind, what is ſupreme intelligence, but a more extenſive, and (perhaps they will call it) refined undulation, pervading or mixing with all others? Indeed it is in this very manner that the univerſal operation of intelligence is pretended to be explained. As any new or partial undulation may be ſuperinduced on any other already exiſting, and this without the leaſt diſturbance or confuſion, ſo may the inferior intelligences in the univerſe be only ſuperinductions on the operations of this ſupreme intelligence which pervades them all.—And thus an undulation (of what? ſurely of ſomething prior to and independent of this modification) is the cauſe of all the beings in the univerſe, and of all the harmony and beauty that we obſerve.—And this undulation is the object of love, and gratitude, and confidence (that is, of other kinds of undulations).—Fortunately all this has no meaning.—But ſurely, if any thing can tend to diminiſh the force of our religious ſentiments, and make all Dr. Prieſtley's diſcoveries in Chriſtianity inſignificant, this will do it.

Were it poſſible for the departed ſoul of Newton to feel pain, he would ſurely recollect with re-

gret that unhappy hour, when provoked by Dr. Hooke's charge of plagiarism, he first threw out his whim of a vibrating æther, to show what might be made of an hypothesis.—For Sir Isaac Newton must be allowed to have paved the way for much of the atomical philosophy of the moderns. Newton's æther is assumed as a *fac totum* by every precipitate scioliſt, who, in despite of logic, and in contradiction to all the principles of mechanics, gives us theories of muscular motion, of animal sensation, and even of intelligence and volition, by the undulations of ætherial fluids. Not one of a hundred of these theorists can go through the fundamental theorem of all this doctrine, the 47th prop. of the 2d book of the Principia, and not one in a thousand know that Newton's investigation is inconclusive.—Yet they talk of the effects and modifications of those undulations as familiarly and confidently as if they could demonstrate the propositions in Euclid's Elements.

Yet such is the reasoning that satisfies Dr. Priestly.—But I do not suppose that he has yet attained his acmé of Illumination. His genius has been cramped by British prejudices.—These need not sway his mind any longer. He is now in that "*rará* "*temporis (et loci) felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et* "*quæ sentias dicere licet*,"—in the country which was honoured by giving the world the first avowed edition of the *Age of Reason*, with the name of the shop

ſhop and publiſher. I make no doubt but that his mind will now take a higher flight,—and we may expect to ſee him fire "that train by which "he boaſted that he would blow up the religious "eſtabliſhment of his ſtupid and enſlaved native "country."—Peace be with him.—But I grieve that he has left any of his friends and abettors among us, who declaim, in the moſt violent and unqualified terms, againſt all national Eſtabliſhments of Religion, and in no friendly terms of any eſtabliſhments which maintain or allow any privileged Orders. Diſcanting much on ſuch topics increaſes the diſſatisfaction of the leſs fortunate part of mankind, who naturally repine at advantages which do not ariſe from the perſonal merit of the poſſeſſor, although they are the natural and neceſſary fruits of merit in their anceſtors, and of the juſtice and ſecurity of our happy Conſtitution. No well informed and ſenſible man will deny that the greateſt injury was done to pure Religion when Conſtantine declared Chriſtianity to be the Religion of the Empire, and veſted the Church with all the riches and power of the Heathen Prieſthood. But it is falſe that this was the ſource of all or of the worſt corruptions of Chriſtianity. The mereſt novice in Church Hiſtory knows that the errors of the Gnoſtics, of the Cerinthians, and others, long preceded this event, and that thouſands loſt their lives in thoſe

metaphyſical diſputes. But I cannot help thinking that, in the preſent condition of Europe, religion would deſert the world, if the opinions of men were not directed, in ſome proper degree, by National Eſtabliſhments. Teachers among the Independents will court popularity, as they have always courted it; by foſtering ſome favourite and diſcriminating opinion of their hearers. The old ſubjects of debate have now loſt their zeſt, and I ſhould fear that the teachers would find it a ſucceſsful, as it is an eaſy road to popularity, to lead their hearers through a ſeries of refinements, till they are landed, much to their ſatisfaction, in the Materialiſm of Dr. Prieſtley, from which it is but a ſtep to the Atheiſm of Diderot and Condorcet.

Seeing that there are ſuch grounds of apprehenſion, I think that we have cauſe to be on our guard, and that every man who has enjoyed the ſweets of Britiſh liberty ſhould be very anxious indeed to preſerve it. We ſhould diſcourage all ſecret aſſemblies, which afford opportunities to the diſaffected, and all converſations which foſter any notions of political perfection, and create hankerings after unattainable happineſs. Theſe only increaſe the diſcontents of the unfortunate, the idle, and the worthleſs.—Above all, we ſhould be careful to diſcourage and check immorality and licentiouſneſs in every ſhape.

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For this will of itſelf ſubvert every government, and will ſubject us to the vile tyranny of a profligate mob.

XI. If there has ever been a ſeaſon in which it was proper to call upon the public inſtructors of the nation to exert themſelves in the cauſe of Religion and of Virtue, it is ſurely the preſent. It appears, from the tenor of the whole narration before the reader, that Religion and Virtue are conſidereded as the great obſtacles to the completion of this plan for overturning the governments of Europe—and I hope that I have made it evident that thoſe conſpirators have preſuppoſed that there is deeply rooted in the heart of man a ſincere veneration for unſophiſticated Virtue, and an affectionate propenſity to Religion; that is, to conſider this beautiful world as the production of wiſdom and power, reſiding in a Being different from the world itſelf, and the natural object of admiration and of love.—I do not ſpeak of the truth of this principle at preſent, but only of its reality, as an impreſſion on the heart of man. Theſe principles muſt therefore be worked on,—and they are acknowledged to be ſtrong, becauſe much art is employed to eradicate them, or to overwhelm them by other powerful agents.—We alſo ſee that Religion and Virtue are conſidered by thoſe corrupters as cloſely united, and as mutually ſupporting each other.

This they admit as a fact, and labour to prove it to be a miſtake.—And laſtly, they entertain no hopes of complete ſucceſs till they have exploded both.

This being the caſe, I hope that I ſhall be clear of all charge of impropriety, when I addreſs our national inſtructors, and earneſtly deſire them to conſider this cauſe as peculiarly theirs. The world has been corrupted under pretence of moral inſtruction.—Backwardneſs, therefore, on their part, may do inconceivable harm, becauſe it will moſt certainly be interpreted as an acknowledgment of defeat, and they will be accuſed of indifference and inſincerity.—I know that a modeſt man reluctantly comes forward with any thing that has the appearance of thinking himſelf wiſer or better than his neighbours. But if all are ſo baſhful, where will it end? Muſt we allow a parcel of worthleſs profligates, whom no man would truſt with the management of the moſt trifling concern, to paſs with the ignorant and indolent for teachers of true wiſdom, and thus entice the whole world into a trap? They have ſucceeded with our unfortunate neighbours on the continent, and, in Germany, (to their ſhame be it ſpoken,) they have been aſſiſted even by ſome faithleſs clergymen.

But I will hope better of my countrymen, and I think that our clergy have encouragement even from

from the native character of Britons. National compariſons are indeed ungraceful, and are rarely candid—but I think they may be indulged in this inſtance. It is of his own countrymen that Voltaire ſpeaks, when he ſays, that "they reſemble a mixed breed of the monkey and the tiger," animals that mix fun with miſchief, and that ſport with the torments of their prey.—— They have indeed given the moſt ſhocking proofs of the juſtneſs of his portrait. It is with a conſiderable degree of national pride, therefore, that I compare the behaviour of the French with that of the Britiſh in a very ſimilar ſituation, during the civil wars and the uſurpation of Cromwell. There have been more numerous, and infinitely more atrocious, crimes committed in France during any one half year ſince the beginning of the Revolution, than during the whole of that tumultuous period. And it ſhould be remembered, that in Britain, at that period, to all other grounds of diſcontent was added no ſmall ſhare of religious fanaticiſm, a paſſion (may I call it) which ſeldom fails to rouſe every angry thought of the heart. —Much may be hoped for from an earneſt and judicious addreſs to that rich fund of manly kindneſs that is conſpicuous in the Britiſh character,—a fund to which I am perſuaded we owe the excellence of our conſtitutional government—Nowhere elſe in Europe are the claims of the different ranks

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in ſociety ſo generally and ſo candidly admitted. All feel their force, and all allow them to others. Hence it happens that they are enjoyed in ſo much peace—hence it happens that the gentry live among the yeomen and farmers with ſo eaſy and familiar a ſuperiority :

——— ——— *Extrema per illos*
Juſtitia excedens terris veſtigia fecit.

Our clergy are alſo well prepared for the taſk. For our anceſtors differed exceedingly from the preſent Illuminators in their notions, and have enacted that the clergy ſhall be well inſtructed in natural philoſophy, judging that a knowledge of the ſymmetry of nature, and the beautiful adjuſtment of all her operations, would produce a firm belief of a wiſdom and power which is the ſource of all this fair order, the Author and Conductor of all, and therefore the natural object of admiration and of love. A good heart is open to this impreſſion, and feels no reluctance, but on the contrary a pleaſure, in thinking man the ſubject of his government, and the object of his care. This point being once gained, I ſhould think that the ſalutary truths of Religion will be highly welcome. I ſhould think that it will be eaſy to convince ſuch minds, that in the midſt of the immenſe variety of the works of God, there is

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one great plan to which every thing ſeems to refer, namely, the crowding this world, to the utmoſt degree of poſſibility, with life, with beings that enjoy the things around them, each in its own degree and manner. Among theſe, man makes a moſt conſpicuous figure, and the *maximum* of his enjoyments ſeems a capital article in the ways of Providence. It will, I think, require little trouble to ſhew that the natural dictates of Religion, or the immediate reſults of the belief of God's moral government of the univerſe, coincide in every circumſtance of ſentiment, diſpoſition, and conduct, with thoſe that are moſt productive of enjoyment (on the whole) in ſocial life. The ſame train of thought will ſhew, that the real improvements in the pleaſures of ſociety, are, in fact, improvements of man's rational nature, and ſo many ſteps toward that perfection which our own conſciences tell us we are capable of, and which Religion encourages us to hope for in another ſtate of being.—And thus will "the ways of Wiſdom appear to be ways "of pleaſantneſs, and all her paths to be "peace."

Dwelling on ſuch topics, there is no occaſion for any political diſcuſſion. This would be equally improper and hurtful. Such diſcuſſions never fail to produce ill-humour.—But ſurely the higheſt complacence muſt reſult from the thought that

that we are co-operating with the Author of all wiſdom and goodneſs, and helping forward the favourite plans of his providence. Such a thought muſt elevate the mind which thus recogniſes a ſort of alliance with the Author of nature.—Our brethren in ſociety appear brethren indeed, heirs of the ſame hopes, and travelling to the ſame country. This will be a ſort of moral patriotiſm, and ſhould, I think, produce mutual forbearance, ſince we diſcover imperfections in all creatures, and are conſcious of them in ourſelves—notwithſtanding which, we hope to be all equal at laſt in worth and in happineſs.

I ſhould gladly hope that I ſhall not be accuſed of preſumption in this addreſs. There is no profeſſion that I more ſincerely reſpect than that of the religious and moral inſtructor of my country. I am ſaying nothing here that I am not accuſtomed to urge at much greater length in the courſe of my profeſſional duty. And I do not think that I am juſtly chargeable with vanity, when I ſuppoſe that many years of delightful ſtudy of the works of God have given me ſomewhat more acquaintance with them than is probably attained by thoſe who never think of the matter, being continually engaged in the buſtle of life. Should one of this deſcription ſay that all is fate or chance, and that "the ſame thing "happens to all," &c. as is but too common, I

ſhould think that a prudent man will give ſo much preference to *my* aſſertion, as at leaſt to think ſeriouſly about the thing, before he allow himſelf any indulgence in things which I affirm to be highly dangerous to his future peace and happineſs.—For this reaſon I hope not to be accuſed of going out of my line, nor hear any one ſay "*Ne ſutor ultra crepidam.*" The preſent is a ſeaſon of anxiety, and it is the duty of every man to contribute his mite to the general good.

It is in ſome ſuch hopes that I have written theſe pages; and if they have any ſuch effect, I ſhall think myſelf fortunate in having by chance hit on ſomething uſeful, when I was only trying to amuſe myſelf during the tedious hours of bad health and confinement. No perſon is more ſenſible of the many imperfections of this performance than myſelf. But, as I have no motive for the publication but the hopes of doing ſome good, I truſt that I ſhall obtain a favourable acceptance of my endeavours from an intelligent, a candid, and a good-natured public. I muſt entreat that it be remembered that theſe ſheets are not the work of an author determined to write a book. They were for the moſt part notes, which I took from books I had borrowed, that I might occaſionally have recourſe to them when occupied with Free Maſonry, the firſt object of my curioſity. My curioſity

riosity was diverted to many other things as I went along, and when the Illuminati came in my way, I regretted the time I had thrown away on Free Masonry.—But, observing their connection, I thought that I perceived the progress of one and the same design. This made me eager to find out any remains of Weishaupt's Association. I was not surprised when I saw marks of its interference in the French Revolution.—In hunting for clearer proofs I found out the German Union —and, in fine, the whole appeared to be one great and wicked project, fermenting and working over all Europe.—Some highly respected friends encouraged me in the hope of doing some service by laying my informations before the public, and said that no time should be lost.—I therefore set about collecting my scattered facts.—I undertook this task at a time when my official duty pressed hard on me, and bad health made me very unfit for study.—The effects of this must appear in many faults, which I see, without being able at present to amend them. I owe this apology to the public, and I trust that my good intentions will procure it acceptance *.

Nothing

* While the sheet commencing p. 465 was printing off, I got a sight of a work published in Paris last year, entitled *La Conjuration d'Orleans*. It confirms all that I have said respecting the use made of the Free Mason Lodges.—It gives a particular account of the formation of the Jacobin

Nothing would give me more ſincere pleaſure than to ſee the whole proved to be a miſtake;—

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bin Club, by the Club Breton. This laſt appears to have been the Aſſociation formed with the aſſiſtance of the German Deputies. The Jacobin Club had ſeveral committees, ſimilar to thoſe of the National Aſſembly. Among others, it had a Committee of Enquiry and Correſpondence, whoſe buſineſs it was to gain partizans, to diſcover enemies, to decide on the merits of the Brethren, and to form ſimilar Clubs in other places.

The author of the above-mentioned work writes as follows, (vol. iii. p. 19.). We may judge of what the D. of Orleans could do in other places, by what he did during his ſtay in England. During his ſtay in London, he gained over to his intereſt Lord Stanhope and Dr. Price, two of the moſt reſpectable members of the *Revolution Society*. This Society had no other object (it ſaid) but to ſupport the Revolution, which had driven James II. from the throne of his anceſtors.

Orleans made of this aſſociation a true Jacobin Club.—It entered into correſpondence with the Committee of Enquiry of our Commune, with the ſame Committee of our Jacobin Club, and at laſt with our National Aſſembly. It even ſent to the Aſſembly an oſtenſible letter, in which we may ſee the following paſſages:

" The Society congratulates the National Aſſembly of " France on the Revolution which has taken place in that " country. It cannot but earneſtly wiſh for the happy " concluſion of ſo important a Revolution, and, at the " ſame time, expreſs the extreme ſatisfaction which it feels " in reflecting on the glorious example which France has " given to the world." (The Reader will remark, that in this example are contained all the horrors which had been

exhibited

to be convinced that there is no ſuch plot, and that we run no riſk of the contagion; but that Britain will continue, by the abiding prevalence of honour, of virtue, and of true religion, to exhibit the faireſt ſpecimen of civil government that ever was ſeen on earth, and a national character and conduct not unworthy of the ineſtimable bleſſings that we enjoy. Our excellent Sovereign, at his acceſſion to the throne, declared to his Parliament that HE GLORIED IN HAVING BEEN BORN A BRITON.—Would to God that all and each of his ſubjects had entertained the ſame lofty notions of this good fortune! Then would they have laboured, as he has done for near forty years, to ſupport the honour of the Britiſh

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exhibited in France before the month of March 1790; and that before this time, the conduct of the Duke of Orleans on the 5th and 6th of October 1789, with all the ſhocking atrocities of thoſe days, were fully known in England.)

"The Society reſolves unanimouſly to invite all the "people of England to eſtabliſh Societies through the "kingdom, to ſupport the principles of the Revolution," (look back to p. 412. of this work,) "to form correſ-"pondences between themſelves, and by theſe means to "eſtabliſh a great concerted Union of all the true Friends "of Liberty."

Accordingly (ſays the French author) this was executed, and Jacobin Clubs were eſtabliſhed in ſeveral cities of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Britiſh name by ſetting as bright an example of domeſtic and of public virtue.—Then would Britons have been indeed the boaſt of humanity—then we ſhould have viewed theſe wicked plots of our neighbours with a ſmile of contempt, and of ſincere pity—and there would have been no need of this imperfect but well-meant performance.

POSTSCRIPT.

ALTHOUGH I ſaw no reaſon to doubt of the validity of the proofs which I have offered in the preceding pages, of a conſpiracy againſt the deareſt intereſts of every nation of Europe, nor of the importance of the information to my own countrymen, it gives me great ſatisfaction to learn that it has been received with favour and indulgence. This I may conclude from the impreſſion's being exhauſted in a few days, and becauſe the publiſher informs me that another edition is wanted immediately. I could have wiſhed that this were deferred for ſome time, that I might have availed myſelf of the obſervations of others, and be enabled to correct the miſtakes into which I have been led by my ſcanty knowledge of the German language, and the miſtakes of the writers from whom I derived all my informations. I ſhould, in that caſe, have at-

tempted to make the work more worthy of the public eye, by correcting many imperfections, which the continual diſtraction of bad health, and my haſte to bring it before the public, have occaſioned. I ſhould have made the diſpoſition more natural and perſpicuous, and have lopped off ſome redundances and repetitions. But the printer tells me, that this would greatly retard the publication, by changing the ſeries of the pages. At any rate, I am not at preſent in a condition to engage in any work that requires diſpatch. I muſt yield therefore to thoſe reaſons, and content myſelf with ſuch corrections as can be made immediately.

I have found, after minute enquiry, that I was miſtaken as to the expreſſion of an eminent follower of Dr. Prieſtley, mentioned in p. 485. The perſon alluded to diſclaims all ſanguinary proceedings, and my information aroſe from a very erroneous account which was circulated of the converſation. But I ſtill think the caution equally neceſſary, which I recommended to the hearers of the frequent and violent declamations made by thoſe alluded to againſt all religious eſtabliſhments.

Except the anecdote of Diderot's library, I do not recollect another aſſertion in the book, for which I have not the authority of printed evidence. This ſtory was told me by ſo many perſons

ſons of credit, who were on the ſpot at the time, that I have no doubt of its truth.

I alſo find that I was miſtaken in my conjecture that Mr. *Le Franc* (ſee p. 383) communicated his ſuſpicions of the horrid deſigns of the Free Maſons to Archbiſhop *Gobet*. It muſt have been to Mr. *Le Clerc de Juigné*, a moſt worthy prelate, whom the hatred of the Jacobins obliged to fly into Switzerland. The Catholic clergy were butchered or baniſhed, and the Jacobins ſubſtituted in their places ſuch as would ſecond their views. *Gobet* was worthy of their confidence, and the *Archbiſhop of Thouloufe* (*Brienne*) himſelf could not have ſerved the cauſe of the philoſophiſts more effectually, had they ſucceeded in their attempts to get him continued Archbiſhop of Paris.

As the poetical picture of unqualified Liberty and Equality, and the indolent pleaſures of the patriarchal life, are the charm by which the Illuminators hope to faſcinate all hearts, and as they reprobate every conſtruction of ſociety which tolerates any permanent ſubordination, and particularly ſuch as found this ſubordination on diſtinctions of ranks, and ſcout all privileges allowed to particular orders of men, I hope that it will not be thought foreign to the general purpoſe of the foregoing Work, if I, with great deference, lay before the Reader ſome of my rea-

ſons for aſſerting, without heſitation, in page 444, that the Britiſh conſtitution is the only one that will give permanent happineſs to a great and luxurious nation, and is peculiarly calculated to give full exerciſe to the beſt propenſities of cultivated minds. I am the more deſirous of doing this, becauſe it ſeems to me that moſt of the political writers on the Continent, and many of my countrymen, have not attended to important circumſtances which diſtinguiſh our conſtitution from the States General of France and other countries. The republicans in France have, ſince the Revolution, employed the pains in ſearching their records, which ought to have been taken before the convocation of the States, and which would probably have prevented that ſtep altogether. They have ſhewn that the meetings of the States, if we except that in 1614 and 1483, were uniformly occaſions of mutual conteſt between the different Orders, in which the intereſts of the nation and the authority of the Crown were equally forgotten, and the kingdom was plunged into all the horrors of a rancorous civil war. Of this they give us a remarkable inſtance during the captivity of King John in 1355 and 1356, the horrors of which were hardly exceeded by any thing that has happened in our days. They have ſhewn the ſame diſmal conſequences of the aſſembly of the different Orders in Brabant; and

ſtill more remarkably in Sweden and Denmark, where they have frequently produced a revolution and change of government, all of which have terminated in the abſolute government, either of the Crown, or of one of the contending Orders. They laugh at the ſimplicity of the Britiſh for expecting that the permanent fruits of our conſtitution, which is founded on the ſame jarring principles, ſhall be any better; and aſſert, that the peaceable exerciſe of its ſeveral powers for ſomewhat more than a century, (a thing never experienced by us in former times,) has proceeded from circumſtances merely accidental. With much addreſs they have ſelected the former diſturbances, and have connected them by a ſort of principle, ſo as to ſupport their ſyſtem, "that "a States General or Parliament, conſiſting of "a repreſentation of the different claſſes of citi- "zens, can never deliberate for the general "good, but muſt always occupy their time in "contentions about their mutual invaſions of "privilege, and will ſaddle every aid to the ex- "ecutive power, with ſome unjuſt and ruinous "aggrandiſement of the victorious Order." They have the effrontery to give the MAGNA CHARTA as an inſtance of an uſurpation of the great feudatories, and have repreſented it in ſuch a light as to make it the game of their writers and of the tribunes.—All this they have done

in order to reconcile the minds of the few thinking men of the nation to the abolition of the different Orders of the State, and to their National Convention in the form of a chaotic mass of Frenchmen, one and indivisible:

Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum,
Ubi frigida puegnabant calidis, humentia siccis,
Mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus.

Their reasonings would be just, and their proofs from history would be convincing, if their premises were true; if the British Parliament were really an assembly of three Orders, either personally, or by representation, deliberating apart, each having a *veto* on the decisions of the other two. And I apprehend that most of my countrymen, who have not had occasion to canvas the subject with much attention, suppose this to be really the British constitution: for, in the ordinary table conversations on the subject, they seldom go farther, and talk with great complacence of the balance of hostile Powers, of the King as the umpire of differences, and of the peace and prosperity that results from the whole.

But I cannot help thinking that this is a misconception, almost in every circumstance. I do not know any opposite interests in the State, except the general one of the governor and the governed, the king and the subject.—If there is

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an umpire in our conſtitution, it is the Houſe of Lords—but this is not as a repreſentation of the perſons of birth, but as a court of hereditary magiſtrates: the Peers do not meet to defend their own privileges as citizens, but either as the counſellors of the King, or as judges in the laſt reſort. The privileges for which we ſee them ſometimes contend, are not the privileges of the high-born, of the great vaſſals of the Crown, but the privileges of the Houſe of Lords, of the ſupreme Court of Judicature, or of the King's Council. In all the nations on the Continent, the different Orders, as they are called, of the State, are corporations, bodies politic, which have juriſdiction within themſelves, and rights which they can maintain at their own hand, and privileges which mark them moſt diſtinctly, and produce ſuch a complete ſeparation between the different Orders, that they can no more mix than oil and water. Yet the great preſident Monteſquieu ſays, that the Peerage of England is a *body* of Nobility; and he uſes the term *body* in the ſtrict ſenſe now mentioned, as ſynonymous to corporation. He has repeatedly uſed this term to denote the ſecond order of Frenchmen, perſons of noble birth, or ennobled, (that is, veſted in the privileges and diſtinctions of the nobly born,) united by law, and having authority to maintain their privileges. The hiſtory of France, nay of our

our own country, shows us that this body may enjoy all its distinctions of nobility, and that the Great Barons may enjoy the prerogatives of their baronies, although the authority of the Crown is almost annihilated.—We have no cogent reason, therefore, for thinking that they will be constantly careful to support the authority of the Crown; and much less to believe that they will, at the same time, watch over the liberties of the people. In the election of their representatives, (for the whole body of the gentlemen must appear by representation,) we must not expect that they will select such of their own number as will take care of those two essential objects of our constitution.—Equally jealous of the authority of the Crown and of the encroachments of all those who are not gentlemen, and even fearful of the assumptions of the Great Barons, the powerful individuals of their own order, they will always choose such representatives as will defend their own rights in the first place. Such persons are by no means fit for maintaining the proper authority of the Crown, and keeping the representatives of the lower classes within proper bounds.

But this is not the nature of our House of Lords in the present day. It was so formerly in a great measure, and had the same effects as in other countries. But since the Revolution, the Peers of Great Britain have no important privileges

leges which relate merely or chiefly to birth. Theſe all refer to their functions as Magiſtrates of the Supreme Court. The King can, at any time, place in this Houſe any eminent perſon whom he thinks worthy of the office of hereditary magiſtrate. The Peers are noble—that is, remarkable, illuſtrious; but are not neceſſarily, nor in every inſtance, perſons of high birth. This Houſe therefore is not, in any ſort, the repreſentative of what is called in France the Nobleſſe—a particular caſt of the nation;—nor is it a junction of the proprietors of the great fees of the Crown, as ſuch;—for many, very many, of the greateſt baronies are in the hands of thoſe we call Commoners.—They ſit as the King's Counſellors, or as Judges.—Therefore the members of our Upper Houſe are not ſwayed by the prejudices of any claſs of the citizens. They are hereditary magiſtrates, created by the Sovereign, for his counſel, to defend his prerogatives, to hold the balance between the throne and the people. The greateſt part of the Nobility (in the continental ſenſe of the word) are not called into this Houſe, but they may be members of the Lower Houſe, which we call the Commons; nay the ſons and the brothers of the Peers are in the ſame ſituation. The Peers therefore cannot be hoſtile or indifferent to the liberty, the rights, or the

the happineſs of the Commons, without being the enemies of their own families.

Nor is our Houſe of Commons at all ſimilar to the *Third Eſtate* of any of the neighbouring kingdoms. They are not the repreſentatives of the ignobly born, or of any claſs of citizens. The members are the proper repreſentatives of the *whole nation*, and conſiſt of perſons of every claſs, perſons of the higheſt birth, perſons of great fortune, perſons of education, of knowledge, of talents.

Thus the cauſes of diſſenſion which refer to the diſtinctive rights or prerogatives of the different claſſes of citizens are removed, becauſe in each Houſe there are many individuals ſelected from all the claſſes.

A Peer, having attained the higheſt honours of the ſtate, muſt be an enemy to every revolution. Revolution muſt certainly degrade him, whether it places an abſolute monarch, or a democratic junto, on the throne.

The Sovereign naturally looks for the ſupport of the Upper Houſe, and in every meaſure agreeable to the conſtitution, and to the public weal, exerts his influence on the Houſe of Commons. Here the character of the monarch and his choice of miniſters muſt appear, as in any other conſtitution; but with much leſs chance of danger to political liberty.—The great engine of

of monarchy in Europe has been the jarring privileges of the different Orders; and the Sovereign, by fiding with one of them, obtained acceſſions of prerogative and power.—It was thus that, under the houſe of Tudor, our conſtitution advanced with haſty ſtrides to abſolute monarchy; and would have attained it, had James the Firſt been as able as he was willing to ſecure what he firmly believed to be the divine rights of his Crown.

I do not recollect hearing the lower ranks of the State venting much of their diſcontents againſt the Peers, and they ſeem to perceive pretty clearly the advantages ariſing from their prerogatives. They ſeem to look up to them as the firſt who will protect them againſt the agents of ſovereignty. They know that a man may riſe from the loweſt ſtation to the peerage, and that in that exaltation he remains connected with themſelves by the deareſt ties; and the Houſe of Commons take no offence at the creation of new Peers, becauſe their privileges as a Court, and their private rights, are not affected by it. Accordingly, the Houſe has always oppoſed every project of limiting the King's prerogative in this reſpect.

How unlike is all this to the conſtitution conſiſting of the pure repreſentatives of the Privileged Orders of the Continental States. The ſelf-conceited

ceited conſtitutionaliſts of France ſaw ſomething in the Britiſh Parliament which did not fall in with their own *haſty* notions, and prided themſelves in not copying from us. This would have indicated great poverty of invention in a nation accuſtomed to conſider itſelf as the teacher of mankind. The moſt ſenſible of them, however, wiſhed to have a conſtitution which they called an *improvement* of ours: and this was the ſimple plan of a *repreſentation* of the two or three Orders of the State. Their Upper Houſe ſhould contain the repreſentatives of 100,000 nobleſſe. The Princes of the Blood and Great Barons ſhould ſit in it of their own right, and the reſt by deputies. The Lower Houſe, or *Tiers Etat*, ſhould conſiſt of deputies from thoſe ignobly born; ſuch as merchants, perſons in the lower offices of the law, artiſans, peaſants, and a ſmall number of freeholders. Surely it needs no deep reflection to teach us what ſort of deliberations would occupy ſuch a houſe. It would be a moſt uſeful occupation, however, to peruſe the hiſtory of France, and of other nations, and ſee what *really did occupy* the Tiers Etat thus conſtructed, and what were their proceedings, their deciſions, and the ſteps which they took to make them effectual. I have no doubt but that this ſtudy would cure moſt of our advocates for general eligibility, and for general ſuffrage. I have lately read

read Velley and Villaret's Hiſtory of France, (by the bye, the Abbé Barruel has ſhewn that the Club d'Holbach managed the publication of this Hiſtory after the firſt eight or ten volumes, and ſlipped into it many things ſuited to their impious project,) and the accounts of the troubleſome reigns of John, and Charles his ſucceſſor, by authors who wrote long before the Revolution; and they filled me with horror. The only inſtance that I meet with of any thing like moderation in the claims and diſputes of the different Orders of their States General, and of patriotiſm, or regard for the general intereſts of the State, is in their meetings during the minority of Charles VIII.

With reſpect to the limitations of the eligibility into the Houſe of Commons, I think that there can be no doubt that thoſe ſhould be excluded whoſe habits of needy and laborious life have precluded them from all opportunities of acquiring ſome general views of political relations. Such perſons are totally unfit for deliberations, where general or comprehenſive views only are to be the ſubjects of diſcuſſion; they can have no conceptions of the ſubject, and therefore no ſteady notions or opinions, but muſt change them after every ſpeaker, and muſt become the dupes of every demagogue.

But

But there are other circumſtances which make me think that, of all the claſſes of citizens, the land proprietors are the fitteſt for holding this important office. I do not infer this from their having a more real connection with the nation, and a ſtronger intereſt in its fate—I prefer them on account of their general habits of thought. Almoſt all their ordinary tranſactions are ſuch as make them acquainted with the intereſts of others, cauſe them to conſider thoſe in general points of view; and, in ſhort, moſt of their occupations are, in ſome degree, national. They are accuſtomed to ſettle differences between thoſe of lower ſtations—they are frequently in the King's commiſſion as Juſtices of the Peace. All theſe circumſtances make them much apter ſcholars in that political knowledge, which is abſolutely neceſſary for a member of the Houſe of Commons. But, beſides this, I have no heſitation in ſaying that their turn of mind, their principles of conduct, are more generally ſuch as become a Senator, than thoſe of *any other claſs* of men. This claſs includes almoſt all men of family. I cannot help thinking that even what is called family pride is a ſentiment in their favour. I am convinced that all our propenſities are uſeful in ſociety, and that their bad effects ariſe wholly from want of moderation

tion in the indulgence of them, or ſometimes from the impropriety of the occaſion on which they are exerted. What propenſity is more general than the deſire of acquiring permanent conſideration for ourſelves and our families? Where is the man to be found ſo mean-ſpirited as not to value himſelf for being born of creditable parents, and for creditable domeſtic connections? Is this wrong becauſe it has been abuſed? So then is every pre-eminence of office; and the directors of republican France are as criminal as her former Nobles. This propenſity of the human heart ſhould no more be rejected than the deſire of power. It ſhould be regulated—but it ſhould certainly be made uſe of as one of the means of carrying on the national buſineſs. I think that we know ſome of its good effects—It incites to a certain propriety of conduct that is generally agreeable—its honeſty is embelliſhed by a manner that makes it more pleaſing. There is ſomething that we call the *behaviour of a Gentleman* that is immediately and uniformly underſtood. The plaineſt peaſant or labourer will ſay of a man whom he eſteems in a certain way, "He is a Gentleman, every bit of him,"—and he is perfectly underſtood by all who hear him to mean, not a rank in life, but a turn of mind, a tenor of conduct that is amiable and worthy, and the ground of confi-

dence.—I remark, with ſome feeling of patriotic pride, that theſe are phraſes almoſt peculiar to our language—in Ruſſia the words would have no meaning. But there, the Sovereign is a deſpot, and all but the Gentry are ſlaves; and the Gentry are at no pains to recommend their claſs by ſuch a diſtinction, nor to give currency to ſuch a phraſe.—I would infer from this peculiarity, that Britain is the happy land, where the wiſeſt uſe has been made of this propenſity of the human heart.

If therefore there be a foundation for this peculiarity, the Gentry are proper objects of our choice for filling the Houſe of Commons.

If theoretical conſiderations are of any value in queſtions of political diſcuſſion, I would ſay, that we have good reaſons for giving this claſs of citizens a great ſhare in the public deliberations. Beſides what I have already noticed of their habits of conſidering things in general points of view, and their *feeling* a cloſer connection with the nation than any other claſs, I would ſay that the power and influence which naturally attach to their being called to offices of public truſt, will probably be better lodged in their hands. If they are generally ſelected for theſe offices, they come to conſider them as parts of their civil condition, as ſituations natural to them. They will therefore exerciſe this power

and influence with the moderation and calmneſs of habit,—they are no novelties to them—they are not afraid of loſing them;—therefore, when in office, they do not catch at the opportunities of exerciſing them. This is the ordinary conduct of men, and therefore is a ground of probable reaſoning.—In ſhort, I ſhould expect from our Gentry ſomewhat of generoſity and candour, which would temper the commercial principle, which ſeems to regulate the national tranſactions of modern Europe, and whoſe effects ſeem leſs friendly to the beſt intereſts of humanity, than even the Roman principle of glory.

The Reader will now believe that I would not recommend the filling the Houſe of Commons with merchants, although they ſeem to be the natural Repreſentatives of the monied intereſt of the nation. But I do not wiſh to conſider that Houſe as the Repreſentative of any Orders whatever, or to diſturb its deliberations with any debates on their jarring intereſts. The man of purely commercial notions diſclaims all generoſity —recommends honeſty becauſe it is the beſt policy—in ſhort, "places the value of a thing in "as much money as 'twill bring." I ſhould watch the conduct of ſuch men more narrowly than that of the Nobles. Indeed, the hiſtory of Parliament will ſhow that the Gentry have not been the moſt venal part of the Houſe. The Il-

lumination which now dazzles the world aims directly at multiplying the number of venal members, by filling the senates of Europe with men who may be bought at a low price. Ministerial corruption is the fruit of Liberty, and freedom dawned in this nation in Queen Elizabeth's time, when her minister bribed Wentworth.—A wise and free Legislation will endeavour to make this as expensive and troublesome as possible, and therefore will neither admit universal suffrage nor a very extensive eligibility. These two circumstances, besides opening a wider door to corruption, tend to destroy the very intention of all civil constitutions. The great object in them is, to make a great number of people happy. Some men place their chief enjoyment in measuring their strength with others, and love to be continually employed in canvassing, intriguing, and carrying on some little pieces of a sort of public business; to such men universal suffrage and eligibility would be paradise—but it is to be hoped that the number of such is not very great: for this occupation must be accompanied by much disquiet among their neighbours, much dissension, and mutual offence and ill-will—and the peaceable, the indolent, the studious, and the half of the nation, the women, will be great sufferers by all this. In a nation possessing many of the comforts and pleasures of life, the happiest

government

government is that which will leave the greateſt number poſſible totally unoccupied with national affairs, and at full liberty to enjoy all their domeſtic and ſocial pleaſures, and to do this with ſecurity and permanency. Great limitations in the right of electing ſeems therefore a circumſtance neceſſary for this purpoſe; and limitations are equally neceſſary on the eligibility. When the offices of power and emolument are open to all, the ſcramble becomes univerſal, and the nation is never at peace. The *road* to a ſeat in Parliament ſhould be acceſſible to all; but it ſhould be long, ſo that many things, which all may in time obtain, ſhall be requiſite for qualifying the candidate. The road ſhould alſo be ſuch that all ſhould be induced to walk in it, in the proſecution of their ordinary buſineſs; and their admiſſion into public offices ſhould depend on the progreſs which they have made in the advancement of their own fortunes. Such regulations would, I think, give the greateſt chance of filling the offices with perſons fitteſt for them, by their talents, their experience, and their habits of thinking. Theſe habits, and the views of life which a man forms in conſequence of his ſituation, are of the utmoſt importance.

After all theſe obſervations, I muſt ſtill recur to a poſition which I have repeated more than once, namely, that our conſtitution, which nearly

embraces all these circumstances, has attained its present excellence chiefly in consequence of the innate worth of the British character. About the time of the Conquest, our constitution hardly differed from that of France. But the clashing of interests between the different Orders of the subjects was not so rancorous and obstinate—these Orders melted more easily together—the purity of the principle of Representation in the States was less attended to; and while the French Peers gradually left off minding any business but their own, and left the High Court of Judicature to the lawyers, and the King to his Cabinet Council, the Peers of Great Britain, overlooking their own less important distinctions, attended more to the State, became a permanent Council to the Sovereign in the administration and legislation; and, with a patriotism and a patience that are unknown to the other Grandees of Europe, continued to hear and to judge in all questions of justice and property between the inferior citizens of the State. British Liberty is the highly-prized fruit of all this worthy conduct, and most people ascribe it to the superior spirit and independence of the national character. It strikes me, however, as more surely indicating superior virtue, and more judicious patriotism; and our happy constitution is not more justly entitled to the admiration and respect that is paid to

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it by all Europe, than to the affectionate and grateful attachment of every true-hearted Briton.

Since the publication of this volume I have ſeen a very remarkable work indeed, on the ſame ſubject, *Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire du Jacobiniſme, par M. l'Abbé Barruel.* This author confirms all that I have ſaid of the *Enlighteners*, whom he very aptly calls *Philoſophiſts*; and of the abuſes of Free Maſonry in France. He ſhows, unqueſtionably, that a formal and ſyſtematic conſpiracy againſt Religion was formed and zealouſly proſecuted by Voltaire, d'Alembert, and Diderot, aſſiſted by Frederic II. King of Pruſſia; and I ſee that their principles and their manner of procedure have been the ſame with thoſe of the German atheiſts and anarchiſts. Like them they hired an Army of Writers; they induſtriouſly puſhed their writings into every houſe and every cottage. Thoſe writings were equally calculated for inflaming the ſenſual appetites of men, and for perverting their judgments. They endeavoured to get the command of the Schools, particularly thoſe for the lower claſſes; and they erected and managed a prodigious number of Circulating Libraries and Reading Societies. M. Barruel ſays, that this gang of public corruptors have held their meetings for many years in the *Hotel d'Holbach* at Paris, and that Voltaire was their honorary Pre-

fident. The moſt eminent members were *d'Alembert*, *Diderot*, *Condorcet*, *La Harpe*, *Turgot*, *Lamoignon*. They took the name of ŒCONOMISTS, and affected to be continually occupied with plans for improving Commerce, Manufactures, Agriculture, Finance, &c. and publiſhed from time to time reſpectable performances on thoſe ſubjects.—But their darling project was to deſtroy Chriſtianity and all Religion, and to bring about a total change of Government. They employed writers to compoſe corrupting and impious books—theſe were reviſed by the Society, and corrected till they ſuited their purpoſe. A number were printed in a handſome manner, to defray the expence; and then a much greater number were printed in the cheapeſt form poſſible, and given for nothing, or at very low prices, to hawkers and pedlars, with injunctions to diſtribute them ſecretly through the cities and villages. They even hired perſons to read them to conventicles of thoſe who had not learned to read *. (See vol. i. 343—355.)

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* The author makes an obſervation which is as juſt as it is agreeable. This atrocious gang ſolicited, with the moſt anxious aſſiduity, the participation and patronage of the great ones of the world, and boaſt of ſeveral very exalted names; Frederic II. of Pruſſia, whom they call the Solomon of the North, Catharine II. Guſtavus King of Sweden, the King of Denmark, &c. &c. But in the whole ſeries of their

I am particularly ſtruck by a poſition of Abbé Barruel, "*That Irreligion and unqualified Liberty* "*and Equality are the genuine and original Secrets* "*of Free Maſonry, and the ultimatum of a regular* "*progreſs through all its degrees.*" He ſupports this remarkable poſition with great ingenuity, and many very pertinent facts. I confeſs that now, when I have got this impreſſion, I ſhall find it very difficult to efface it. But I muſt alſo ſay, that this thought never ſtruck me, during all the time that I have been occupied with it; nor have I ever heard it expreſſed by any Brother, except ſuch as had been illuminated; and ſuch Bréthren always conſidered this as an innovation or improvement on genuine Britiſh Free Maſonry. I recollect, indeed, that Nicholai, in his account of the German Roſycrucians, ſays, that the object of Free Maſonry in England, ſince the time of James II. is *Toleration* in *Religious Opinions*, as *Royaliſm* had been the object before that time.

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their correſpondence there is not the leaſt trace of any encouragement or any hopes from our excellent Sovereign George III. Deſpiſing the incenſe of ſuch wretches, and deteſting their ſcience, he has truly merited the title of *Philoſopher*, by having done more for the real Illumination of the World, by the promotion of true Science, than Louis XIV. with his penſioned Academicians, or than all the preſent Sovereigns of Europe united; and has uniformly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his regard for true Religion, and every thing that is venerable and ſacred. This omiſſion is above all praiſe!

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The account which the Abbé gives of the *Chevalerie du Soleil* is very conformable to one of the three rituals in my poſſeſſion. His account of the *Chevalerie de Roſe Croix*, and ſome others, differs conſiderably from thoſe in my box. I have reaſon to think that my materials are tranſcripts from the rituals, &c. which Roſa introduced into the German Lodges, becauſe the writer of the greateſt part of them is an inhabitant of that city.

I think that the Abbé Barruel's account of this matter ſuggeſts a pleaſing reflection. All the Brethren on the Continent agree in ſaying, that Free Maſonry was imported from Great Britain about the beginning of this century, and this in the form of a Myſtical Society. It has been aſſiduouſly cultivated in Britain ever ſince that time, and I believe that the Fraternity is more numerous here, in proportion to the population of the country, than in any other kingdom; yet in Britain the Brethren have never ſuſpected that its principles were ſeditious or atheiſtical. While the Free Maſonry of the Continent was tricked up with all the frippery of ſtars and ribands, or was perverted to the moſt profligate and impious purpoſes, and the Lodges became ſeminaries of Foppery, of Sedition, and Impiety, it has retained in Britain its original form, ſimple and unadorned, and the Lodges

Lodges have remained the ſcenes of innocent merriment, or meetings of Charity and Beneficence. As the good ſenſe and ſound judgments of Britons have preſerved them from the abſurd follies of Tranſmutation, of Ghoſt-raiſing, and of Magic, ſo their honeſt hearts and their innate good diſpoſitions have made them deteſt and reject the mad projects and impious doctrines of Coſmopolites, Epicuriſts, and Atheiſts.

O fortunatos nimium, ſua ſi bona nórint
Anglicolas!

I have more confidence than ever in the ſentiment which I expreſſed in p. 488, as an encouragement for our moral inſtructors; and with greater earneſtneſs do I call on them to reſcue from corruption and impending ruin a nation ſo highly deſerving of their care.

Mr. Barruel, in the eighteenth chapter of his work, has ſuggeſted ſome reflections, which highly merit attention, and greatly tend to efface the impreſſion which is naturally made on the minds of the unthinking and precipitant, when they obſerve ſuch a liſt of authors, whom they have been accuſtomed to admire, all leagued againſt Religion. I think, however, that nothing can more effectually remove it, than what I have already ſhown of the vile and diſgraceful tricks which theſe ſophiſts have been guilty of to ſupport their cauſe. The cauſe of this numerous

aſſociation

aſſociation is diſtinctly ſeen in their very procedure. The very firſt ſtep in their progreſs is *depravation of manners*. In this they have laboured with as much earneſtneſs as either Spartacus, or Minos, or Bahrdt. It was a treat to me to learn that La Cloſe's abominable book *Les Liaiſons Dangereuſes*, was not merely pandering for his patron Orleans, but alſo working for his maſters at the Hotel d'Holbach. Nothing gives ſuch certain bread to thoſe authors, in the beginning of their career, as immoral and impure writings;—and with ſuch did even their chief ſet out, and fill his pockets; witneſs his *Pucelle d' Orleans;* and even after they became the *ſages of France*, they continued, either from coarſe taſte or from ſerious principle, for the diabolical purpoſe of inflaming the paſſions of others, to interlard their graveſt performances with impure thoughts and ſentiments. Nay, the ſecret of the Hotel d'Holbach ſhews us that, for any thing we know to the contrary, the vileſt productions of their preſs may have been the compoſitions of the octogenary Voltaire, of the ſly d'Alembert, or of the author of the *Pere de Famille*. What a pity it is that the *Decline of the Roman Empire* was not all written in England, and that its learned and elegant author, by going into their ſociety, has allowed himſelf to be drawn into this muddy and degrading vortex!

I ſhould

I ſhould ſcarcely aſk for more to diſguſt me with the philoſophy of theſe ſages, and to make me diſtruſt all their pretenſions to knowledge. The meanneſs of the conduct ſuited the original poverty of the whole of them; but its continuance ſtrips them of all claims to the name of philoſophers. Their pretended wiſdom is only cunning, —and we muſt acknowledge that their conduct was clever: for this mean of corruption, concealed or embelliſhed by their talents for ſentimental ſlang, (I can give it no better name,) made their converſation and their writings moſt acceptable to their noble patrons.—Now it is that Religion, of neceſſity, comes on the field; for Religion tells us, that theſe are mean pleaſures for creatures born to our proſpects; and Chriſtianity tells us, that they are groſs tranſgreſſions of *the only juſt morality*. The progreſs of the pupil will now be rapid; for he will liſten with willing ears to leſſons which flatter his paſſions. Yet Voltaire thinks it neceſſary to enliven the leſſons by a little of the *ſalaiſon*, *quelques bons mots à-propos auprès des femmes*, which he recommends to d'Alembert, who, it ſeems, was deficient in this kind of ſmall talk.

Surely all this is very unlike to wiſdom; and when we ſee that it is part of a plan, and this an obvious one, it ſhould greatly leſſen our wonder at the number of theſe admired infidels. If we would

would now proceed to examine their pretenſions to ſcience, on which they found their claim to the name of philoſophers, we muſt be careful to take the word in a ſenſe that is unequivocal. Its true meaning is by no means what is commonly aſſigned to it, a lover of knowledge. It is a lover of wiſdom; and philoſophy profeſſes to teach us what are the conſtituents of human felicity, and what are the means of attaining it; what are our duties, and the general rules for our conduct. The ſtoics were philoſophers. The Chriſtians are alſo philoſophers. The Epicureans and the Sophiſts of France would alſo be called philoſophers. I have put in my objection to this claim already, and need not repeat my reaſons for ſaying that their doctrines are not dictates of wiſdom. I ſhall only add, that their own conduct ſhows plainly that their principles had no effect on themſelves, becauſe we ſee, from the ſeries of correſpondence which Mr. Barruel has laid before us, that they do not ſcruple to practiſe villanous and hypocritical tricks, which never fail to diſgrace a man, and are totally irreconcilable with our notions of human dignity. Voltaire patiently took a caning from an officer at Frankfort, for having wittily told lies of his ſcholar Frederic, and his wiſdom told him that his honour was cleared by offering to meet the Major, each of them pro-

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vided with an injection syringe. This was thought sublime wit at Ferney. I do not suppose that the slave Epictetus, or the soldier Digby, would have ended the affair in this manner. Many of the deeds of wisdom of the club d'Holbach were more degrading than even this; and I am confident that the whole of this phalanx of sages were conscious that they were treated by their patrons and pupils as Voltaire was treated by the Solomon of the North, and that their notions of the *vraie sagesse* were also the same with his. He gives this account of it in his letter to his niece: "Le Roi lui avoit repondu; 'j'aurai "besoin de Voltaire un an tout au plus—On "presse l'orange, et on jette l'écorce.' Je me "suis fait repeter ces douces paroles"—(How poor Voltaire would grin!)—"Je vois bien "qu'on a pressé l'orange—il faut penser à "sauver l'ecorce."

But, as things stand at present, philosopher means a man of science, and in this sense of the word our sages claim great respect. No claim can be worse founded. It is amusing to observe the earnestness with which they recommend the study of natural history. One does not readily see the connection of this with their ostensible object, the happiness of man. A perusal of Voltaire's letters betrays the secret. Many years ago he heard that some observations on the formation

formation of ſtrata, and the foſſils found in them, were incompatible with the age which the Moſaic hiſtory ſeems to aſſign to this globe. He mentions this with great exaltation in ſome of his early letters; and, from that time forward, never ceaſes to enjoin his colleagues to preſs the ſtudy of natural hiſtory and coſmogony, and carefully to bring forward every fact which was hoſtile to the Moſaic accounts. It became a ſerious part of the exerciſes of their wealthy pupils, and their perplexing diſcoveries were moſt oſtentatiouſly diſplayed. M. de Luc, a very eminent naturaliſt, has ſhewn, in a letter to the Chevalier Dr. Zimmermann, (publiſhed, I think, about the year 1790,) how very ſcanty the knowledge of theſe obſervers has been, and how precipitate have been their concluſions. For my own part, I think the affair is of little conſequence. Moſes writes the hiſtory, not of this globe, but of the race of Adam.

The ſcience of theſe philoſophers is not remarkable in other branches, if we except M. d'Alembert's mathematics *. Yet the impoſing confidence

* Never was there any thing more contemptible than the phyſical and mechanical poſitions in Diderot's great work, the *Syſteme de la Nature*, (Barruel affirms, that he was the author, and got 100 piſtoles for the copy, from the perſon who related the ſtory to him,) that long ago found that

confidence of Voltaire was such, that he passes for a person fully informed, and he pronounces on every subject with so much authority, with such a force of expression, and generally with so much wit or pleasantry, that his hearers and readers are fascinated, and soon convinced of what they wish to be true.

It is not by the wisdom nor by the profound knowledge which these writers display, that they have acquired celebrity, a fame which has been so pernicious. It is by fine writing, by works addressed to the imagination and to the affections, by excellent dramas, by affecting moral essays, full of expressions of the greatest respect for virtue, the most tender benevolence, and the highest sentiments of honour and dignity.—By these means they fascinate all readers; they gain the esteem of the worthy, who imagine them sincere, and their pernicious doctrines are thus spread abroad, and steal into the minds of the dissolute, the licentious, and the unwary.

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that Diderot had assisted Robinet to make a book out of his Masonic Oration, which I mentioned in page 41. Robinet trusted to Diderot's knowledge in natural philosophy. But the Junto were ashamed of the book *De la Nature*. Diderot seems to have, after this, read Dr. Hartley's book, and has greatly refined on the crude system of Robinet. But after all, the *Systeme de la Nature* is contemptible, if it be considered as pretending to what is received as science by a mechanical philosopher.

But I am writing to Britons, who are conſidered by our neighbours on the Continent as a nation of philoſophers—to the countrymen of Bacon, of Locke, of Newton—who are not to be wheedled like children, but muſt be reaſoned with as men.—Voltaire, who decides without heſitation on the character of the moſt diſtant nations in the moſt remote antiquity, did not know us: he came among us, in the beginning of his career, with the higheſt expectations of our ſupport, and hoped to make his fortune by his Pucelle d'Orleans. It was rejected with diſdain—but we publiſhed his Henriade for him: and, notwithſtanding his repeated diſappointments of the ſame kind, he durſt not offend his countrymen by ſlandering us, but joined in the profound reſpect paid by all to Britiſh ſcience.—Our writers, whether on natural or moral ſcience, are ſtill regarded as ſtandard claſſics, and are ſtudied with care. Lord Verulam is acknowledged by every man of ſcience to have given the firſt juſt deſcription of true philoſophy, pointed out its objects, and aſcertained its mode of procedure—And Newton is equally allowed to have evinced the propriety of the Baconian precepts by his unequalled ſucceſs, *ſuâ Matheſi facem preferente.*—The moſt celebrated philoſophers on the Continent are thoſe who have completed by demonſtration the wonderful gueſſes of his penetrating

trating genius. Bailli, or Condorcet, (I forget which,) ſtruck with the inconceivable reaches of Newton's thoughts, breaks out, in the words of Lucretius,

Te ſequor, O magnæ gentis decus, inque tuis nunc
Fixa pedum pono preſſis veſtigia ſignis.
Tu pater et rerum inventor, tu patria nobis
Suppeditas precepta, tuiſque ex inclute chartis,
Floriferis ut apes in ſaltibus omnia libant,
Omnia nos itidem depaſcimur aurea dicta;
Aurea, perpetuâ ſemper digniſſima vitâ.

After ſuch avowals of our capacity to inſtruct ourſelves, ſhall we ſtill fly to thoſe diſturbers of the world for our leſſons? No—Let us rally round our own ſtandards—let us take the path pointed out by Bacon—let us follow the ſteps of Newton—and, to conclude, let us ſeriouſly conſider a moſt excellent advice by the higheſt authority;

"Beware of falſe prophets, who come to you "in ſheep's cloathing, but inwardly they are "ravening wolves—BY THEIR FRUITS YE "SHALL KNOW THEM—Do men gather grapes "of thorns, or figs of thiſtles?"

THE END.